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ABSTRACT

The experiences and observations of Teacher Corps teacher interns in four different cultural settings are related. The community characteristics, social and cultural values, and coping techniques of the inservice teachers in each of these locales are described. The sites chosen for these case studies were a Native American reservation, an inner-city school, a school located in a small town in mid-America, and a Mexican-American barrio. (JD)

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Teacher Corps Portraits
Four Case Studies

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by John A. Savage

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TEACHER CORPS PORTRAITS
FOUR CASE STUDIES

JOHN A. SAVAGE, Ph.D.

December, 1977

Floyd T. Waterman, Ed.D., *Project Director*

Disclaimers

These case studies are based on actual Teacher Corps projects and are accurate as to events and interactions which have taken place in projects throughout the United States. However, the data on which these case studies are based were drawn from a number of projects and the names of individuals and places have been changed. Therefore, the locations and persons represented here are, in effect, fictitious and should not be identified with any single project or individual.

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Dr. William Smith, the Director of the Teacher Corps, has said, "When the day of reckoning comes, it will have to be said that the Teacher Corps accomplished what it did because the program was successful in gaining the support and assistance of many of the best people now working in the field of education." These case studies grow from the efforts of many such people. Included in that group, of course, are Smith, James Steffensen, Beryl Nelson, and Paul Collins, all of whom I would like to thank for their continuing support. Floyd Waterman, the Director of the CMTI, encouraged and facilitated the development of the case studies at all stages of the project. His support, as always, has been invaluable. Roger Pankratz, the Associate Director for Instruction, was instrumental in the adoption of the case study approach and provided overall substantive guidance—to say nothing of healthy doses of positive reinforcement. CMTI Content Specialists, Cluster Leaders, and planning team members also reacted to early drafts and offered many helpful suggestions.

The help of those people was certainly instrumental to the completion of the case studies. Without taking away from the substantial contribution of those individuals, however, my deepest acknowledgment and gratitude are reserved for those who gathered the raw data which lies at the heart of the case studies. Without their commitment, talent, and hard work, the case studies certainly would not exist. Because of the need to ensure the privacy and confidentiality of those who provided the case study information, it is inappropriate to list the Data Collectors by name. I offer my gratitude to the Data Collectors especially; they are much appreciated as individuals and as professionals.

John A. Savage
New York City
November 9, 1977

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CONTEXT, CAVEATS, AND CLUES

Introduction

The title of this chapter—"Context, Caveats, and Clues"—was chosen for reasons beyond its alliterative merit. The title, like those of the four case studies which follow this chapter, suggests both the flavor and the content of its subject. Before it is possible to read and understand these case studies for what they are, it is necessary to know why and how they were developed—to put them in a context. This chapter provides such a context. Second, judging the picture which the case studies individually and collectively present requires that the reader attend to several cautions, both about the nature of case studies in general and about factors which directed and constrained these studies. Hence, this chapter will offer some caveats. Finally, there is the matter of clues—clues as to how the case studies might best be used to teach teachers. This chapter will attempt to provide such clues by briefly reflecting on some of the lessons of the 1977 Corpsmember Training Institute, where the case studies were first used. This chapter also makes its serendipitous contribution: it serves as a documentation of the case study developmental effort.

The Purposes of the Case Studies

These case studies were developed specifically for use at the 1977 CMTI. That institute, the third CMTI sponsored by the Teacher Corps and directed by Floyd Waterman, was held in San Diego, California, during the last three weeks of July. In the proposal to conduct varied Developmental Training Activities which resulted in the contract to the Center for Urban Education, Waterman wrote:

> The Corpsmember Training Institute for Interns and Team Leaders was begun in 1975 for the purpose of: 1) providing intense orientation and training for Corpsmembers of beginning projects in a most effective and economic manner; 2) developing an esprit de corps, a personal identification with Teacher

Corps as a national effort; and 3) preparing Corpsmembers to more effectively enter, understand, and participate in the organizational structure and processes of their communities, schools, and classrooms.

As a means toward achieving those purposes, Waterman wrote, four case studies of Teacher Corps projects would:

> . . . enable participants to adopt the viewpoint of an outsider looking in . . . (C)ontent areas will be developed during this second week in a manner to enable Interns and Team Leaders to identify and explain the dynamic structures and processes present in multi-cultural settings, in communities, school organizations, and classrooms of determinedly typical Teacher Corps projects . . . (T)he case studies will provide the unifying vehicle for integrating the content areas and relating theory to the real world which Team Leaders and Interns will enter.

The four case studies developed as a result of Waterman's proposal provide a conceptual reality base which was used to deliver a portion of the institute's content. The case studies, which were presented during the second week of the CMTI, represent four types of projects: those in urban, rural, Native American, and bilingual settings. Each case study is based on information gathered at various project sites throughout the United States. Names of individuals and locations were changed to ensure confidentiality and privacy for those who supplied data for the studies. Despite these and other minor changes, the case studies intend to reflect the realities of life in a local project while providing examples, incidents, and narratives which offer perspectives on the community; the school as an organization; and the classroom as a learning environment, taking note of multi-cultural aspects as they interrelate with those concepts.

The case studies, then, intend to enable their readers to identify with a local project reality which they can to some extent anticipate. They also intend to help their readers develop observational and analytical skills and see how thirteen* key organizational concepts can be applied to different situations in local projects. Those organizational concepts are as follows:**

- Power, Authority, Influence
- Decision-Making
- Communication
- Slippage

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*The original thirteen concepts were condensed to the nine listed here.

**Brief descriptions of these concepts are provided in Appendix A; more complete definitions are offered in the conceptual materials which serve as a companion to this volume.

- Role Set
- Formal and Informal Structures
- Conflict
- Norms
- Motivation

Additionally, the case studies were developed so as to present concepts in the areas of classroom dynamics, community organizational theory, and multi-cultural education. Consistent with the Teacher Corps mandate, the concepts for study were presented in ways which emphasized the Corpsmembers' roles as teachers-in-training, rather than suggesting that Corpsmembers are—or are intended to be—change agents.

The Development of the Case Studies

There were many steps involved in the development of the four case studies. First, Waterman, in tandem with his Associate Director for Instruction, Roger Pankratz, chose the individuals who would visit Teacher Corps project sites to gather data for use in each case study. In the meantime, they also chose this writer as the person who would use that data to write the four case studies. In selecting the Data Collectors, Waterman and Pankratz applied three criteria: experience with past institutes; familiarity with the type of setting (e.g., Native American, inner-city) which was to be visited; and understanding of the organizational and other concepts which would be explicated through the case studies. Further, the ethnicity of each Data Collector corresponded with the ethnic group which was most prevalent in the setting visited.

Pankratz then met with the Data Collectors and briefed them on their task: to gather information and put it into a form which would be manageable for a writer who had not visited any of the sites. The information to be collected, Pankratz said, included the following:

- Contextual information related to the larger community; i.e., geography and physical characteristics; population data (e.g., census, ethnic patterns, housing, income and employment, formal and informal groups, cultural norms, community interaction patterns, and mobility). Relevant community history would also be included.
- Contextual information related to the school; i.e., geography and physical characteristics; relevant school history; psychological and behavioral climate; and population data

(e.g., data on census, ethnic patterns, formal and informal groups, norms, interaction patterns, and mobility for all role groups in the school).

- Contextual information related to the classroom; i.e., the physical organization, psychological and behavioral climate, and exemplar interactions within the classroom.
- Contextual information related to the Teacher Corps project; i.e., project background, goals, organization, and personnel.
- A description of a (relatively) typical experience of a project team (i.e., four Interns and a Team Leader) in the given setting, beginning with project entry and concluding with the end of the first year.
- Recurring issues, themes, and interrelated events in the community, school, classroom, and project which might also be interwoven throughout each case study.

After the Data Collectors' initial task had been accomplished, they met with the writer and debriefed, providing both an oral and a written description of their observations and the hard data which they had gathered. In turn, each Data Collector described the site he or she had visited; other Data Collectors and the writer then asked questions, made comments, and on occasion drew parallels or pointed out contrasts between various sites. Next, the writer and Data Collectors—known collectively as the Case Study Task Force—met with the four Content Specialists (and other key planners) who would serve the CMTI. The Content Specialists, who were to provide the link between each of the four content areas and the case studies, were as follows: Paul V. Collins (community dynamics and development); James Tanner (the school as an organization); Roger Pankratz (classroom dynamics); and Arlene Vigil-Sutton (multi-cultural education). As the links between the case studies and CMTI content areas, the Content Specialists developed conceptual materials in their respective areas. Later, they met with Interns and Team Leaders at the CMTI in large seminars to discuss the case studies in light of their content areas. During the developmental stages, the Content Specialists reacted to early drafts of the case studies to ensure that the concepts which the studies intended to demonstrate were in fact in evidence.

In the course of the first meeting of the Case Study Task Force and the Content Specialists, the Data Collectors again orally reported on the sites they had visited. This time, however, the Data Collectors refined their presentations according to comments and questions

which had been raised from within the Task Force, highlighting particularly relevant or interesting aspects. As the Data Collectors spoke, the Content Specialists made notes of site features and experiences which illustrated each organizational concept. After each site was presented, the Content Specialists reported on their notes, asked questions, and made other relevant comments. In addition to pointing out where the concepts actually occurred at a particular site, the Specialists occasionally suggested project aspects or events which might be highlighted or modified to reflect a concept which seemed to only potentially exist.

During the time then remaining before the CMTI—about one month—the four case studies were written, reviewed by others, and rewritten. The process of writing the first draft involved referring to the Data Collector's oral and written presentations, the Content Specialists' reactions and comments, and the writer's experience. Facts, names, and locations were frequently changed or modified, first, to ensure confidentiality and privacy. Second, changes sometimes involved using data from more than one site in common settings in a single case study. Finally, changes served to highlight site features which explicated the target concepts and occasionally to downplay features which inhibited the explication of those concepts.

Next, the first drafts were reviewed and reacted to by CMTI planners and Cluster Leaders, the latter of whom would lead teams of instructors at the institute. Among typical reactions, these reviewers suggested that the first drafts were possibly too didactic and should show (rather than tell about) the organizational concepts. One major shortcoming of the first drafts was their lack of classroom incidents to depict the organizational and classroom dynamics concepts which would be introduced at the CMTI. The second draft thus incorporated new material which placed Teacher Corps Interns and other project personnel in classrooms with children, where they interacted in ways which illustrated the target concepts. As a result of other feedback, it was also decided that an instructors' guide to the case studies would be prepared in the form of an index to the organizational concepts as they appeared in the case studies.

Based on the reviewers' suggestions, the writer prepared a second draft of the case studies for use at the CMTI. Following the CMTI, final drafts of the case studies—the versions which appear here—were prepared. These final versions were based on informal feedback from institute participants and others, and have been changed only slightly. However, one completely new classroom incident has been added to each case study in the current versions. As

in other instances when the writer made substantial changes, additions, or deletions, he reviewed the new classroom incidents with the individual(s) who had actually visited the site(s) to ensure that modifications were realistic and plausible in the site context. He also consulted with Roger Pankratz, the Content Specialist for classroom dynamics, in the creation of these new incidents.

Caveat: Constraints

Having put the case studies in a context by describing their purposes and development, it is perhaps useful to briefly reflect on the nature of the case studies and to offer some caveats and explanations which are essential to their interpretation. (After this general discussion of caveats, further and more specific cautions will be suggested as they relate to the use of the case studies in a training situation.) The case study approach at CMTI-77 was an ambitious undertaking, and there were clearly factors which constrained the development of the case study materials. Not the least of those constraints was time. As with past institutes, the time available for planning and materials development was short in 1977; that constraint no doubt had its impact on the products which resulted from developmental efforts.

Caveat: Limited Ambitions

While the case studies were an ambitious undertaking, their horizons were intentionally limited. Like the overwhelming bulk of similar case studies, the studies of Teacher Corps projects do not attempt to explain everything which they describe. In fact, attempts were purposely made to avoid exploring the nooks and crannies, the "whys" of situations, events, and interactions in the case studies. Of course, such nooks and crannies *were* explored when relevant "why" information would further the explication of the organizational concepts. At other times, however, detailed discussion of the reasons behind reality was outside the scope of the studies. Likewise, the implications of situations, events, and interactions could not be explored within the limited mandate of the studies. Further, the case studies make no attempt to resolve situations which are described.

The intent of the case studies, then, was simply to describe a sort of reality as it exists in Teacher Corps projects, schools, and communities. That approach was dictated, first, by the nature of case studies; second, because of the parameters of this writer's purview; and third, because the case studies themselves were intended as

vehicles for experiential learning, rather than as didactic guided tours. Indeed, it is within the province of the teaching and learning act to examine sociological factors and real or hypothetical events which might have led to situations such as those described in the case studies. Determining why things are as they are was intended to grow from the case studies, rather than to reside in them. As was anticipated, working with the case studies in instructional settings involved explorations into cultural and other factors which underlie events and situations described in the case studies.

Such explorations occurred when Interns and Team Leaders at the CMTI asked Spanish-speakers to translate the Spanish words and phrases which appear in "Buena Vista." More substantively, such exploration occurred when people at the CMTI—rather than the case studies themselves—explained that cultural factors in part caused the Chicano Interns in "Buena Vista" to skirt their Team Leader, a woman, and go directly to the Project Director, a man, when they had problems or complaints. The case studies, then, intended to provoke, to serve as springboards to discussion and learning. They do not provide all the answers or definitively describe a situation, community, school, project, or culture. This point is included here not only as a caveat, but also as a foreshadowing of the clues which will be offered for the use of the case studies.

Caveat: A Complementary Body

While each of these case studies can stand alone, each is also to some extent interdependent with the others. That is, organizational concepts which are not highlighted in one case study are emphasized (or at least clearly present) in another. Additionally, some concepts are illustrated by showing their absence in some of the case studies; that absence can be contrasted with the presence of the target concept in another of the studies. For example, "Smoke City" is a setting in which power, authority, and influence are clearly present and used; "Distant Drum," on the other hand, demonstrates a virtual power vacuum. Likewise, the concept of communication is demonstrated in "Distant Drum" by its absence.

Similarly, various aspects of Teacher Corps project activities and interactions do not appear in all the case studies. "Buena Vista," for example, highlights Intern-Team Leader interaction, while "Distant Drum" only mentions the project's Team Leader in passing. Thus, while it is not suggested that all four case studies be used in a single training situation, it is pertinent to note that the four studies form a

complementary unit. Each case study, it could be remembered, intends to depict the target organizational concepts within the broad range of Teacher Corps experience. However, no single case study is comprehensive or definitive.

Caveat: Reality and Expediency

Some readers have felt that the case studies were artificial—"set-ups," as one Intern said. She felt that the need to demonstrate the organizational concepts in the context of Teacher Corps projects resulted in stories which bent over backward to show that formal and informal structures, for example, existed in a given setting. In fact, she suggested, those structures might not have been present in a "real" project. While it is true that some concepts were highlighted in particular studies, reality was not ignored in any search for expediency. Any additions, deletions, or modifications of real situations were limited to those which would disguise the real locations from which the studies were drawn—or to enhance the presentation of factors and situations which were already present. In fact, the amount of creativity which went into the case studies has perhaps been exaggerated by past readers who have assumed that the sites and situations presented were figments of the writer's imagination. They in fact are not. They are real and accurate depictions drawn from existing projects. Creativity did, of course, play a part in rendering the raw data into four actual case studies, but that task involved creative manipulation of language rather than of facts.

Caveat: The Chronological Scope

Other early readers of the case studies have asked, "Why don't the studies tell more about the Interns and their teaching responsibilities? Why don't they tell what happened after the Interns learned new things—why don't they describe Interns' actions and applications based on the experience which is described?" Indeed, the studies would perhaps be more effective if they were told from an Intern's point of view. If this writer were ever to tackle a fifth case study, it would certainly deal more directly with Intern concerns. That story would very likely be told by an Intern in the first-person narrative.

There is, however, a problem with attempting to deal too fully with Interns' teaching responsibilities and "actions" in this group of case studies: the studies deal only with the first year of Teacher Corps projects. That year is mandated as a learning year for Interns, a

year during which Interns observe and analyze in the school and community while taking university coursework. Thus, in telling the story of a project's first year, there was little room to deal with Interns' actual teaching experiences or other application activities.

The Use of the Case Studies: General Clues

The nature of these case studies and the experience of using them at CMTI-77 suggest several general cautions which should be taken in their future use.* First, it sould be reiterated that the purpose of the studies is not to paint a definitive picture of Teacher Corps projects. It should be kept in mind that it is possible to draw only very limited generalizations about people, places, or events from these case studies. The studies are intended to illustrate organizational concepts in a Teacher Corps setting—but to do that for the purposes of explicating those concepts, rather than to suggest a picture of the Teacher Corps which extends to other projects. Indeed, the nature of the Teacher Corps is such that each local project has its own distinct identity. Thus, while generalizations may be helpful, they should also be limited.

Similarly, the case studies are not designed to "teach themselves." Rather they are a vehicle, a jumping-off place from which to design and implement instructional activities. At the same time, the studies attempt to help the teacher by providing wide margins in order to ease annotation. Paragraphs are numbered as an aid to instruction. Two appendices have also been provided as an instructional supplement. First, Appendix A provides one-sentence descriptions of the nine organizational concepts. Second, Appendix B is an index which indicates—by chapter and paragraph number—where the organizational concepts are found in the case studies.

One major lesson for case study users can be drawn from the CMTI-77 experience: do not attempt to use all four case studies with the same group in a short period of time. The CMTI design called for the use of the studies on four successive days. That resulted in an overload for participants. During the previous week, they had dealt with self-concerns and had participated in many activities to enable them to understand themselves and others. The shock of a much

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*The Andrews-Bryant Concern for Educational Development, pursuant to its subcontract with the Center for Urban Education, collected both hard and soft data at the CMTI in 1977. One might expect that the report of that team will, at least by implication, suggest some further cautions which should be taken in the use of the case studies.

more substantive and task-oriented approach in the second week — along with what became a rather routinized approach to the case studies—presented problems for institute administrators, instructors, and learners. Thus, if all four case studies were to be used with a single group, their use should probably be spread over a longer period than four days.

The Use of the Case Studies: Exemplar Strategies

As with all instruction, simply asking learners to read the case studies and then attempting a free-for-all discussion is an unfeasible approach. Likewise, only offering lectures on the organizational concepts as they appear in the case studies does not represent much of a "strategy." Many effective strategies have been developed for these (and similar) instructional materials. Among those strategies are role playing and simulation exercises which might be structured either after participants have finished reading the case studies or at various points during their reading. Another approach might involve using problem-solving strategies to examine the project realities presented in the studies. For example, readers might take the part of a project staff member and identify a problem presented in the case study which they feel needs attention. As part of that process, they might use techniques such as force-field analysis to consider alternative strategies for solving the problem they have identified. Readers might also use projection techniques to write a narrative or skit which describes what might happen at a later date in the case study. Finally, one project team at the CMTI wrote and performed a skit based on one of the case studies. In addition to its entertainment value, the skit clearly demonstrated that the Interns and Team Leader had mastered the organizational concepts.

The strategies described here are neither original nor new—nor even very innovative any more. They are offered simply as examples of alternatives to the lecture-discussion approach. These suggestions are among the most successful approaches used at CMTI-77 and, like the case studies, are simply intended to offer a starting point from which to explore the organizational concepts in the context of four Teacher Corps project settings.

The Four Case Studies

The case studies themselves appear in the next four chapters. The first of those, "Distant Drum," is set on a Native American reservation, in a remote small town. It is a rather bleak picture. Next,

"Mid-America" is a project located in a large but remote rural community. "Mid-America" is not necessarily located in the Midwest, but its residents do hold strictly to mid-American values and lifestyles. The third case study is "Buena Vista," the case study of a barrio project which stresses the bilingual approach to education. Finally, "Smoke City" is an inner-city project in a community whose residents take an active role in their children's education.

2
DISTANT DRUM
A NATIVE AMERICAN RESERVATION

This treaty shall provide The People with land and such livestock as needed so that they may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters . . . This treaty shall also provide teachers, materials, and other articles so that The People can learn to read and write, to plough and to sow, in order to raise their own bread and meat, as the white people do . . . And, so, be it understood that these United States are highly desirous of imparting to all the Indian tribes the blessings of civilization as the only means of perpetuating them on the earth.

—From an Indian Treaty

For many years, it has been said that education is the salvation of The People. Education is important. Without knowledge and wisdom, The People will be held in the backwater of history. With education, knowledge, and wisdom, The People will be better prepared to face their problems as a tribe and as individuals. Education, however, is not a solution. It is only a beginning. But The People have the right to the best beginning: one that honors The People's traditions and prepares The People to make their own future.

—A Member of a Tribe Called "The People"

The reservation is 36 miles long and 23 miles wide. Its Native American population is 2,100; about 150 non-Indians also live on the reservation. The population is widely scattered in a remote, desolate, and isolated area of the United States. The reservation's only current indigenous sources of income are small farming, timber, and a small crafts industry. Coal has recently been discovered on the reservation, but mining efforts up to now have been minimal. Education and the Bureau of Indian Affairs are the major employers on the reservation; both come from outside, and both employ more non-Indians than Indians. Some of the reservation's schools are operated by the BIA, and others are public schools. Many of the Native Americans who work in those schools are classroom aides; the balance are custodians and other non-professional workers. The teachers on the reservation are Anglos. 1

Distant Drum, a rural town of 675 people, lies at the heart of the reservation; 90 percent of the town's residents are Native Americans, members of a tribe called The People. The other 10 percent are non-Native American, and are in Distant Drum because they work for the BIA, other Federal agencies, or the town's school. There is also a Teacher Corps project in town. The project has brought four graduate Interns into its training program at Distant Drum. Three of those Interns are Anglos, and one is a Native American, although not a member of The People's tribe. These four Interns are working toward their Masters' degrees. There are also 20 undergraduate Interns in the project, 17 of whom are Native Americans from the local community; the other three are Chicanos, who are also from Distant Drum. (Native American and Bilingual Teacher Corps projects, unlike others, have the option of including such a group as Interns in order to provide entry into the teaching profession for those who might not otherwise have the opportunity.) 2

During their first year in Distant Drum, the Interns have learned 3

what it's like to live in Distant Drum. One Intern says, "There's not much to do here, and it gets lonesome. I thought I'd go bananas at first. I couldn't find a place to live, there was no recreation, and no place to go. Who wants to hang around the grocery store all day?"

4 It's not as if they want to, but some of The People do spend a lot of time hanging around the grocery store. It is a gathering-place not only because it is the only such store within 20 miles, but also because there is no other place to congregate—no park, bowling alley, social club, bar, theater, or fire station. The grocery store must do, and some of The People gather there in the dirt parking lot for long hours, talking through the cold winter afternoons and the steamy summer evenings. Clustered nearby are a drug store, a furniture store, and a pawn shop, but these are not nearly so popular as the grocery store.

5 A few miles down the road is Bartown—not a town, really, but certainly a bar. Bartown's single dwelling is a saloon which was recently featured in a wire service newspaper article:

> The saloon is a battered wooden building bearing vague evidence that it once knew paint; the nearest other oasis is a two-hour drive away. The sign over the door is riddled with more than 100 bullet holes. The equally ventilated mailbox is the third replacement in less than a year.
>
> Inside, a bar of raw oak runs the length of the room. Since barstools made convenient weapons, the owner has replaced them with large tree trunks upon which patrons perch.
>
> Bartown's owner says he likes his customers, and he seems to. "There are really only a few troublemakers around here," he says, "But it doesn't take much for things to get out of control. I keep a pistol and a can of Mace handy. Hell, the sheriff is over 50 miles down the road. I have to look after things myself out here."
>
> Behind the building is a pile of beer cans. No, a mountain of beer cans. It ascends to altitudes of 15 or 20 feet and stretches over an acre. The pile began as an effort to fill a large hole behind the bar, but no one stopped tossing their empties when the hole was filled. The pile continues to grow, one of the few landmarks within a hundred miles.

6 Back in Distant Drum, the road stretches through town and is intersected by a second road, dividing the town into four sections. The first section contains several relatively modern buildings with ample, neat yards and trees. The BIA employees live there. A second quarter, sharing the east end of town with the BIA housing, contains the BIA offices, a sawmill, and an arts and crafts center. In the less-dense third quarter are the basketball gym, a gas station, and the Distant Drum Co-op. Finally, the town's stores, school, and a second gas station are bunched together in the fourth section. Behind the school are eight or ten cramped houses where the teachers live.

There are no yards back there, but a fence separates these buildings from the rest of the community. Still farther from the center of Distant Drum is a group of ramshackle sheds and shacks which are painted bright Easter-egg colors. These are the homes of The People.

That was the picture the Interns saw when they first arrived in 7
Distant Drum. They wondered where they would live, where they would shop, where they would eat when they didn't feel like cooking. They wondered what they would do for entertainment, where they would socialize, when they would be able to leave for visits to families and friends. The Interns did not qualify for BIA or other tribal housing, and other places to live were in short supply. At first, the four graduate Interns lived together in a one-bedroom apartment. Eventually, they found places of their own.

Finding something to do was even more difficult; there was al- 8
ways Bartown, but that was not an appealing prospect. Early in the fall the Interns decided to have a barbecue picnic; it seemed a good way to have a little fun and an opportunity to invite the school faculty for a social gathering which might ease some of the teachers' resistance to the Interns. Not many teachers went to the picnic, but those who did took their own six-packs and bottles, and the barbecue turned into an afternoon and evening of rambling conversations.

"Why am I here?" one teacher responded to an Intern's question, 9
"It's getting hard to remember. I know why I came, but why I'm still here is a mystery. I thought I was coming to Distant Drum to help out a little. I thought if the kids could learn to read and write, they might have a chance. But other things got in the way. It was, 'Help out with the music room today. Do lunch supervision duty. Cover for an absent teacher.' Hell, I can't even carry a tune; how can *I* help out in the music room? And what are the aides here for, anyway—why should I do supervision? They don't have substitutes? Fine, I'll be a substitute. But when *I'm* hung-over, when I take a couple of days off, somebody else better cover my class. Yeah, why *am* I here?"

Lisa, one of the Anglo Interns, had asked another teacher about 10
the drinking—why it was such a part of reservation life, and why the teachers were boozers too. "Well, it's like The People say," she had replied, " 'It's part of the culture.' That's the reservation. What else is there to do?"

Another time, Lisa was talking with one of The People about the 11
alcohol problem. He said, "Drinking around here is mostly psychological, not physiological. We have lots of people who need something to do."

The Interns already realized there wasn't much to do, but they 12

were determined to find something. One Intern learned that one of the federal agencies in Distant Drum had money which might be available for a small recreation program. She requested and received funds to buy cross-country skis. From November on, she spent every weekend with a group of seventh- and eighth-grade students in the countryside, teaching them to ski. Another Intern teamed with one of the school's regular teachers to organize a sports recreation league.

13 The Interns also spent a lot of time in the homes of The People, learning about the tribe's culture and history and how Distant Drum came to be what it is. They learned that Distant Drum used to be different; it was once even smaller and more isolated. That was before World War II, before the BIA and other federal programs, before the highway. There had been more small farms and ranches then, but the highway, the school, and the few stores in town had attracted newer residents. The highway and the school were ways to get off the reservation—the highway because it led to the bus station 80 miles off, and the school because education might enable the children to find jobs someplace else.

14 It hadn't happened quite that way. Some of The People had moved to cities or towns off the reservation, but many more stayed behind. Most of those who left had adopted "white ways," although some had taken the "ways of The People" with them. Those who stayed had changed, too. Some, of course, had remained traditional, and continued the old ceremonies, beliefs, and practices. When talking about the problems of The People, a member of the traditional faction says, "What is needed is working together like the old days."

15 Other groups have also become evident among The People; these include transitional tribe members who do not live on the reservation, but who do work there. Another group which is slowly making the change to non-traditional beliefs lives on the reservation, but isolates itself from others among The People. Finally are the non-traditional tribe members; one member of that group says, "This is a dumb place to live. I used to live in the city and there was always something to do there."

16 The highway had drawn The People to Distant Drum with its promise of escape, but it had disappointed them. The school had not been much different. The People believe in education; they believe it can help them to overcome poverty and give their children a chance at life. They wish the school could help their children to be respected and to learn respect for others. They wish, too, that education could help their children assume their appropriate place in the

Native American community. But they fear that education may be "selling out to the White Man—again."

The Interns were anxious to begin some community involvement activities in the Distant Drum school. The Interns soon discovered, however, that the parents simply do not go to the school; they decided to find out why. As they talked to The People, they learned that, as one person said, "In the old days we used to go to the school. But not now. They want to 'civilize' us. But we are civilized. We have our culture, and the school has its culture. They do not mix." 17

Another of The People says, "The school does not teach the children the culture of The People—we must do that if it is to be done. The school's books are not our books. The school's lessons are not our lessons. The school's language is not our language. The school's history is not our history. Our children are there, and they must learn, but there is no place for us there." 18

The Interns also learned that the parents would go to the school if they were invited—but that they were invited only when there were problems. Some teachers had attempted to make home visits, but, as they described those visits, the teachers told of many uncomfortable experiences. One teacher told of her first home visit: "I knocked on the door and the mother opened it. But when I told her who I was, she slammed the door and talked to me from behind the door. I just didn't know what to do, I was so confused and insulted. After all, I am the child's teacher; I deserve respect." 19

One of the undergraduate Interns, who was of The People, listened to the story and then explained, "You're wrong. We don't believe that you deserve respect just because you're the teacher. You must earn respect among The People. And you could never expect to have one of The People talk to you through the open door on your first visit. You must first be trusted. Friends and relatives may talk with the door open, but a stranger—especially a white stranger—is talked to through the closed door. When you are trusted, the door will be opened." 20

Mona and Lisa, two of the graduate Interns, listened to that conversation with mysterious smiles. They later decided to compile a list of The People's traditional beliefs. After a lot of listening and observation, they had a long list: 21

- One of The People does not speak out or draw attention to himself. 22
- One of The People believes in honor and being a respected person. 23

- One of The People will not push his way into any situation; he waits to be included and invited.
- One of The People will not speak harshly or draw attention to another person.
- One of The People is embarrassed when singled out before a group—it is a good way to punish.
- A child of The People makes responsible choices at a very early age. These choices may be good or bad, but it is accepted that they are made.
- Whenever one of The People is on business, it is considered a good thing that visiting and small talk take place before business. Visiting is an important part of social behavior.
- The elders of The People are considered the keepers of knowledge and tradition. Elders are treated with respect.
- Many of The People have chosen to retain their culture and to be poor, rather than to be like the White Man and have the White Man's riches. Much of this retention has been done in secret.
- Sharing is a very important part of The People's culture. There is an obligation to honor favors and to exchange goods.
- The reservation is home for The People. The People see the reservation as being rich in many ways.
- The People want good things for their children and a comfortable way of life.
- The People have a history and traditions which they consider important for the world in which they live. They respect that history and those traditions.
- The People do not work hard to compete with a friend, but they may work well in team efforts.
- There is a distinction in The People's culture between honoring and rewarding. To honor is good, but to reward is not.

Noah, one of the graduate Interns, looked at the list and felt the floodgates of understanding begin to open. He remembered the first day of school, when the teacher he was observing had asked all the students to stand up individually and introduce themselves. Many of the students had been reluctant to participate, but the teacher had insisted, and they had complied. The list clarified the reasons for the children's embarrassed and reluctant behavior. The Mona-Lisa list also clarified Noah's observation that many of the children were

reluctant to raise their hands in class to answer questions. Before, he had assumed that the children didn't know the answers, but now he began to suspect that their problem was raising hands, rather than knowing answers.

He also more clearly understood what had happened just the day before in a classroom that mixed the second and third grades. The children had been taking turns reading aloud to the class. When a third-grade boy had difficulty with a word, the teacher asked a second-grade girl to help him. The girl would not do as the teacher asked, and was made to stay in the room during recess as punishment. Noah began to understand why the little girl had disobeyed the teacher. 38

Thinking back over the Mona-Lisa list, Noah decided to make his own list, a list of ways school people might be more considerate of the Ways of the People in their teaching practices. He talked his idea over with the Team Leader, who was also an Anglo, and she encouraged Noah to work with the Community Coordinator, one of The People, in making such a list. She cautioned Noah, though, and told him that the school's regular teachers had their own ways of doing things. It would be best, she said, if the Interns kept the list among themselves and waited until they were in their second year before trying to use its ideas. Noah agreed, and soon sat down with Mona, Lisa, and the Community Coordinator to begin the list: 39

- Avoid singling out the children to punish them by saying, "You're late," or "You're being discourteous." 40
- Give the children an opportunity to begin making some choices for themselves. 41
- Try to visit with children before putting them to work on their class assignments. 42
- Find a way to involve elders of The People in the classroom as resource persons. 43
- Try to find some materials for the classroom which place value on the beliefs, culture, and history of The People. 44
- Try to use cooperation among the children to motivate them—avoid competition. 45
- Remember that singling out a child for a "reward" may actually be a punishment in the child's culture. 46
- Try to find ways to meet parents socially and on occasions when there are no problems with their children; simply show interest in children and their parents. 47

48 Noah knew that the list would be difficult to follow, and understood that it would require a lot of work to develop the ideas on the list into actual classroom activities and practices. But he felt that it had helped him understand the children's behavior in the classroom better and would be a head start on his second year in the project, when he would have the opportunity to do some teaching on his own.

49 Noah had mixed feelings about the Team Leader asking him not to share his list with the rest of the school faculty. All 30 of the teachers in Distant Drum are non-Native Americans, and generally they do not stay in Distant Drum very long. This year, 19 of the 30 will be leaving, most of them after only one or two years in Distant Drum. Many of the eleven who are staying are married to local Native Americans. Among the older teachers, two have been in the school for over 25 years, and both plan to stay until they retire; in the meantime, they have ranches within commuting distance of the town.

50 One of these teachers told Noah, "The People used to be wise and full of purpose, but there aren't any smart ones left. All they do is drink; alcohol has done 'em in. There's nothing that can be done for them anymore. They just don't care. They don't want to learn."

51 Another of the older teachers told an Intern, "The People's culture and language are practically non-existent. The People of twenty years ago were smarter, more moral, and of a quality character. Alcohol has killed them. I try to take the new teachers under my wing, to tell them what I've learned here over the years. I tell them, 'The kids need limits; they need to know discipline. They love me because I spank them when they need it.' "

52 When she heard that, Mona was shocked. Even though she didn't agree with that philosophy and felt it didn't help the children's learning, she eventually realized that the older, more strict teachers were highly regarded in the community. Several community members told her that they expect a lot of the school. They said they expect the school to teach their children discipline, just as it taught them when they were children. "The school is there to keep the children in order, to teach them how to behave," one parent said, "And when someone at the grocery store tells me my child has misbehaved in the school, I am shamed."

53 The older teachers in Distant Drum understand that the community expects the school to maintain order. They try to meet that expectation in their own classrooms, and also make it clear to new teachers as they arrive. When new teachers come, the older teachers

tell them of their experiences and help them to find homes. The older teachers' advice is usually welcomed, since the new teachers do not know what to expect in Distant Drum.

54 Not long after she arrived in Distant Drum, Mona was observing in one of the older teacher's classrooms during a reading period. The second- and third-grade children were working with Sullivan readers, which had short paragraphs for the children to read; the paragraphs were accompanied by pictures which illustrated the text. In fact, the children were aware that the pictures showed exactly what was described in the text. Mona was also aware of that, and wondered how well the children would read during their test, when they didn't have the pictures.

55 Before the class had begun, the teacher had talked with Mona and the classroom's Native American aide about the activities for the reading period. "Jeanne," she told the aide, "I'd like you to work with the Indian children today. You can give them Sullivan readers; put them right to work—no fooling around at the start of the period the way they always try to. They can work alone and you can help the children who need it. At the end of the class I'll give them the test on Section Five of the readers. I'll work with the white children—they're quite a ways farther ahead—and you can give them their test at the end."

56 The teacher turned to Mona, "I think you'll do best today if you spend the time observing how Jeanne works with her group. You can help out with some of them if you want to."

57 The teacher then called the class to order. "Now, children, today we are going to be working in the Sullivan readers. I want you to read in Section Five of the books. It is an easy section, but I do not want any playing today. I want you to get right to work and to work hard. We're already behind with this year's work, so there is no time for talking and playing. Jeanne and Mona will help you; if you need them, just ask for help. There will be a test at the end of the period to see if you've done your work. I expect you to pass the test. All right, now, get to work."

58 As the children worked, Mona wandered around the room looking for children who might be having problems. Few children asked for help, but they quietly studied the pictures in the reader. Jeanne meanwhile spoke to some children in their language, using many of The People's gestures to express herself. Mona had begun to pick up some of those gestures, and had found that the children responded more enthusiastically when she used them. She had also learned that eye contact with the children was a sign of disrespect in The

People's culture; unlike the regular teacher, she did not insist that the children look directly at her when she spoke.

59 At the front of the room, the teacher worked with the class's four Anglo children. The group was working quietly, with the teacher moving among the children, helping them to figure out the more difficult words in their lesson.

60 Toward the end of the period, the teacher called the class to attention. "All right, children," she said, "Mona and Jeanne will pass out the tests for today's lesson. You are to read the selections and then answer the questions at the end."

61 As the tests were passed out to the Native American children, the teacher turned to the group she had been working with. "Here, children, these are your tests." She handed each of the four a test on their section of the readers.

62 A few minutes later, the children handed in their tests to the teacher and left for another class. Mona, Jeanne, and the teacher divided up the tests and sat down to grade the children's work. About half way through that task, the teacher looked up in exasperation. "Jeanne, what was your group doing all period? I don't have a single one in this pile so far that passed the test. I'll bet not a single one asked for help, as usual. Didn't you check them as they read the sections before the test?"

63 "Yes," Jeanne replied, "I did check them during the practice sections. They were reciting the practice sections correctly. Mona was checking too."

64 Mona nodded, "Yes, I checked them, and they told me what the paragraphs said. But I think they were just looking at the pictures to figure out what the words meant."

65 The teacher frowned, "As usual. That's cheating, and the children need to be told that. The pictures are there to help them, but they must read the words. And, obviously, they can't read the words. They just can't do the work. They're not going to have pictures all their lives to help them out. If they can't learn to read, they'll never make anything of themselves. I've been here a long time, and this has been going on for years. The children just don't have what it takes."

66 Jeanne looked away. Mona asked, "How did the other group do on the test?"

67 "Oh, they did fine. I knew they would—they can read, and they learn more words every day. All four of them passed with high marks. I'm not worried about them. I know they can do the work."

68 As the three turned back to grading the remaining tests, Mona wondered why the teacher had spent her time working so closely

with the Anglo children, who needed help less than the Native American children. She guessed that the teacher felt more comfortable with the Anglo children, since she didn't know The People's language and gestures. Mona also knew that the teacher enjoyed working with the children who were farther ahead; she had once said she felt more of a challenge from the children who did the best work. Meanwhile, the Native American children weren't learning to read and they needed more of the teacher's attention.

Mona resolved to ask if she might take a group of three or four 69
Native American children aside and work with them. She wanted to try working with the small group by covering the pictures in the readers and letting the children help each other figure out what the paragraphs said. Before suggesting the small-group idea to the teacher, though, Mona decided to ask her Team Leader for permission and advice on how to approach the teacher with her idea.

Like Mona and the other Teacher Corps Interns, the regular 70
teachers have come to Distant Drum for many reasons. Many, like the Interns, are young, enthusiastic, and idealistic. They want to help others and to try out new ideas. One of the newer teachers—one who is planning to stay in Distant Drum for a while—tells his story this way:

> I was hitchhiking across the "res" last fall, just kinda seeing the country. I was 20 or 30 miles out of Distant Drum heading this way, when a pickup stopped for me. We got to talking about things, and I found out they needed a teacher. Well, it happened that I was interested. I hadn't actually taught before, but I was certified, and it was legal. They hired me. I've learned a lot—a lot about The People, a lot about teaching. I think I'm doing okay, and I want to stay for a while. I think we can get some things done in Distant Drum.

One of the older teachers describes her reasons for being in Dis- 71
tant Drum a little differently:

72

> I came to Distant Drum originally as part of a missionary effort in my undergraduate days. I lived with a family here during that time, and I ended up staying here because these people are more my family than I ever had in Iowa.

73

Whatever their reasons for coming, the Distant Drum teachers now find themselves in a community with many economic and social problems. There are 123 programs, agencies, organizations, and groups in Distant Drum, all aimed at addressing those community problems. The elected Tribal Council also conducts several vocational training and legal aid programs, but problems persist. Tables 1 through 4 suggest the cold, hard facts; the personal facts are even more chilling.

With such problems and an abundance of unoccupied time, The 74

People spend a great deal of time talking together in front of the grocery store, at Bartown, or in their homes. The town's residents gather in fluid, often-changing groups according to the amount of schooling they completed or their employment. The older members of the tribe most often gather in homes to talk and socialize. As one of The People explains, "The old people have nothing to do. They can't get out. They are afraid to go to activities where there are kids because they might get knocked down."

75 Whether residents gather at home or elsewhere, gossip travels quickly by "moccasin telegraph" in the small town. There are many established grapevines which carry news from the grocery store to Bartown, and into homes—and then back over the same route. Since most of the Indian families are related in some way to all the other Indian families on the reservation, kinship ties are another major source of gossip and information. The kinship system on the reservation is headed by a single family, whose grandmother is The People's matriarch. To look at her directly is "bad medicine"; no one ever does that. This family's views are dominant on the reservation, and are never questioned; its members often remind others that they are "Red Foxes." The reminder is enough to settle any potential dispute.

76 Among The People, the Red Foxes have much to say, and are listened to carefully. However, like other Native Americans in Dis-

TABLE 1

DISTANT DRUM EMPLOYMENT DATA

Total available labor force	1,277
Total unavailable labor force	501
Unemployment rate of total labor force	61%
Total known employed	511
Winter unemployment range	50-70%
Number of programs serving unemployed:	
Young adults	2
Others	1

TABLE 2

DISTANT DRUM EDUCATION DATA

Total high school enrollment	445
Dropouts (1975-76 school year)	20%
Programs serving dropouts	None
Number of preschoolers	362
Number of programs serving preschoolers	1
Number of programs serving parents of preschoolers	None
Recreation programs	None

TABLE 3

DISTANT DRUM SENIOR CITIZENS DATA

Number of elderly on reservation*	483
Programs serving elderly	
Directly	1
Indirectly	3
Recreation Programs	None

*55 years and older. The average life expectancy is 44 years.

TABLE 4

DISTANT DRUM ALCOHOL MISUSE DATA

Number of clients directly involved in alcohol treatment	296
Number of programs serving alcoholics	
Directly	2
Indirectly	6
Children (ages 10-14) personally involved in alcohol or drug misuse	47%
Children affected by alcohol or drug misuse	70%
Recreation programs	None

tant Drum, the Red Foxes are poor, lack education, and face language and cultural barriers between themselves and the BIA, the school, and other service agencies. Those barriers have prevented even the Red Foxes from having a voice in the programs which are in Distant Drum to help The People. While some of The People have the education necessary to hold responsible positions in the BIA, the school, or other programs, very few tribe members have such positions. Those who hold jobs of responsibility in agencies from the outside have often had to pass for non-Indian in order to get those jobs.

The Teacher Corps project in Distant Drum has begun to have 77
some success in giving The People a voice in one outside agency: the school. Two years ago the school developed a Five-Year Master Plan which included the organization of a Community Advisory Board; as with many other provisions of the plan, little work had been done on forming the Advisory Board before the Teacher Corps project arrived. There had been a few sporadic and poorly attended meetings of the group, which only included seven members. The Teacher Corps project recruited new members for the board and planned regular meetings. Now, at the end of the project's first year, the average attendance at Community Advisory Board Meetings is 35; meetings are held regularly, and the group has been working on school and community problems.

One of the arguments the project has used to gain members for 78
the Community Advisory Board has been a goal shared by The

People and the BIA: the goal of economic self-determination, which can be achieved through education. The elementary education of The People's children is provided in the Distant Drum Public School, which—unlike some of the schools on the reservation—is not a BIA school. The main school building houses ten classrooms for grades four through eight. Kindergarten classes are at one end of the building, with a primary pod for grades one, two, and three at the other end. There is also a teachers' room, a multi-media center, a music room, kitchen, lunch room, and offices for administrators. The school is a one-story red brick building, with playgrounds around the outside of the quadrangular primary pod.

79 The building itself is only eight years old, but there are no trees, grass, or even asphalt-covered areas on its grounds. About 300 yards west of the school, at the end of a dirt road, is a seventy-year-old building. That building was Distant Drum's first school, and is now the Teacher Corps's Educational Training Center. While neither modern nor spacious, the building serves adequately as a place for training the school's teachers and the project's Interns; many of the training activities take place in the school itself.

80 Perhaps the most interesting place in the school is the primary pod, where 50 children in the first, second, and third grades spend their time. Although it was intended to be a single, open learning space, the pod's teachers have divided the room into separate classrooms using bookcases piled high with reading kits and textbooks. The teachers most often stand with their backs to the center of the pod, facing out toward random arrangements of desks and children. Teachers spend most of their time talking to children, using lectures to convey information. There are few bulletin boards or other stimulating sights in the pod; it is interesting simply because it is not a square, totally self-contained classroom. Otherwise, the two types of learning environments are much the same. Occasional bulletin boards in the various classrooms show pictures of Indian chiefs drawn by the children, or the names of children whose attendance has been good. One room has a cursive display of the alphabet, which is arranged around a picture of a covered wagon train and pioneers. Ninety percent of the children in the school come from The People; the other 10 percent are children of outsiders who work for the BIA or other agencies.

81 Overall supervision of the Distant Drum school is provided by an appointed superintendent. This year several individuals have filled that role. The first superintendent had been in his position for three years, but left the school in November this year. During his time in

Distant Drum, this man had been reluctant to meet with community members to discuss the planning and operation of school programs. He generally formulated policy himself, and seldom asked teachers or community members for their suggestions. Since most federal programs require parental involvement in planning as a prerequisite to funding, however, this superintendent had involved some community residents in the development of a Five-Year Master Plan for the school during his first year on the job. The resulting plan was a good plan and the community input was valid, but the superintendent remained unconvinced of the importance of community members' and teachers' involvement in such planning, and little was done to implement the goals of the Five-Year Master Plan.

There were many reasons why this superintendent left Distant Drum early in the school year. Among them was the hostility which he was instrumental in creating between the school's faculty and its Teacher Corps Interns. Before the Interns reported to Distant Drum, the superintendent had met with the school faculty for a pre-school orientation. During that session, the superintendent told the faculty that the Interns would be used to take over the teachers' classroom responsibilities, leaving the teachers free to pursue their own graduate studies in the Training Complex. Although there would be only four graduate Interns and 20 undergraduate Interns, each of the 30 teachers was also promised one full-time graduate Intern as a classroom assistant. The superintendent also said that other Interns would be available if a teacher needed help in a particular curriculum area. Meanwhile, the Training Complex would be used by the teachers to earn graduate degrees; the cost of that training would be covered by Teacher Corps funds. 82

When the Interns arrived at Distant Drum, they began the program they had been promised: they spent a half-day in the classroom observing and serving as resources for the teachers, and the other half-day in the Training Complex. The teachers were not pleased. Even after they realized that the superintendent had lied to them, they continued to blame the Interns for their disappointment. To make things worse, the teachers also soon learned that they would not be released from their regular duties to attend classes in the complex—and that they would have to pay for any classes they did take. One particularly disappointed teacher says, "The superintendent outright lied to us. He was playing with federal money to further his own ends, and put the Teacher Corps behind the eight ball right from the start. He felt no compunction at all about playing with our lives and the lives of the children." 83

84 Eventually, the superintendent left Distant Drum. He was replaced by a man who talked about many ideas for improving the school. Unfortunately, he turned out to be all sizzle and no steak: the programs he talked about never happened—both because he was an ineffective leader and because teachers and others came to the conclusion that he had not been sincere in his talk of improving the school. He soon gave up the superintendent's position, and left Distant Drum. Talk in front of the grocery store has it that he was paid to leave. The People say that a man who was all talk and no action was certainly not welcome in Distant Drum—especially after what happened with the previous superintendent.

85 The next acting superintendent also served as the school's principal. She soon found that the two jobs were too much, and gave up the superintendency, retaining the principal's job. Her successor as superintendent was hired from another state. He lasted about four hours, and left abruptly.

86 During the current search for a real superintendent, the job is being filled by a man who spends half of his time as a curriculum coordinator in another school. While many teachers and community members have said they wish he would stay on as the full-time superintendent, this man will be leaving Distant Drum at the end of the school year. The People of Distant Drum have watched a parade of teachers and administrators leave the school over the years. Relatively few of The People leave, while those who have come from outside seem always to be moving on after a year or two.

87 Mrs. Custer is one of the newer teachers who will be moving on after the current school year. Before coming to Distant Drum, she taught for two years in a small rural community. Although it is also small and rural, Distant Drum is quite a different experience for Mrs. Custer; her previous students were white kindergarten children. Here, only two of her students are white; the rest are Native American and they are all in the sixth grade. Mrs. Custer says she likes the children and The People, but often does not understand their ways. From conversations with other teachers, she knows that many of the older teachers keep a firm grip on their classrooms and do not allow talking or fooling around. But her sixth graders are downright unruly, Mrs. Custer feels, and she can't seem to keep the children in line.

88 One day, for example, Mrs. Custer planned a spelling bee, but her class was uncooperative and slow to settle down.

89 "Children," Mrs. Custer said, "Please quiet down. You've just had your afternoon recess. It's time to work now. I know it's Friday

and you're anxious for the weekend."

Many of the children were ignoring the teacher, talking among themselves, whispering jokes to each other, and gesturing animatedly. The boys who formed the sixth-grade basketball team sat together at the back of the class, and were tossing wadded balls of paper back and forth. A few girls clustered on one side of the room were passing notes, looking back and forth at each other, and giggling. A group of boys on the other side of the room was teasing a girl who sat nearby. 90

"Class," Mrs. Custer repeated, "Come to order. I know it's Friday and you're excited. I am, too. I'm going to the city this weekend to the movies. I want school to end quickly, too. We're going to have a spelling bee this afternoon." Gradually, the class had been settling down. At the sound of the words "spelling bee," however, the noise level rose again, and several students groaned or made faces and gestured to each other. 91

"Now, children, we've done spelling bees before, and they're fun. Many of you do your best work at spelling bees, so I don't know why you groan. Let's begin. Who wants to choose up for sides?" 92

The class was suddenly silent. No one raised a hand. "What? Nobody wants to be a team captain? Come on. I know some of you want to choose. How about you, Essie?" 93

Essie looked away and slid down in her desk. Her friends nearby giggled. 94

"Josie?" The teacher asked. 95

Josie looked away, too. Frustrated, Mrs. Custer said, "All right, let's see who got the highest marks on last week's spelling test. They can be the captains." Taking out her grade book, Mrs. Custer discovered that two twin boys, Matthew and Mark, had scored highest on the test. "Oh, isn't this exciting," she said, "Matthew and Mark are our two captains! Boys, would you please go to the front of the room, one on each side?" 96

Neither of the boys moved. "Boys," Mrs. Custer said, "What's the matter?" 97

Matthew spoke, "I don't want to be against Mark. He's my brother. I want to be on his team." 98

"Mark," the teacher asked, "Do you feel the same way?" 99

The second twin nodded. 100

"Very well, then, let's have Grace and Joseph be the captains. Would the two of you come up front, please?" 101

Slowly but reluctantly, Grace and Joseph took their places. Soon, the two captains had chosen their teams. Joseph, one of the basket- 102

ball players, used his first choices to select his friends from the back of the room. Grace, meanwhile, chose from her friends first. The two of them worked their way through the remaining children, and the contest began.

103 "The first word today is 'about.' Grace, would you begin, please?" Grace spelled the word correctly, and the teacher moved on. As she moved through the ranks of Joseph's team, Mrs. Custer noticed some suspicious lip movements, elbowing, and gesturing among the basketball players. Moving closer to the group, she gave the next word. "Michael, your word is 'adventure.' "

104 Michael hesitated for a few moments, looked toward the ceiling, and began slowly, "a-d-v." He paused and looked up the line toward Joseph, who was surreptitiously mouthing the letter "e."

105 Noticing that byplay, Mrs. Custer spoke up sharply, "Joseph, stop that! That's cheating! This is a contest. You're not to help each other."

106 Joseph bristled at the teacher's words. "Why not?"

107 "Because this is a contest, a game. You don't cheat at basketball, do you?"

108 "No, but I help others on my team," Joseph answered.

109 Mrs. Custer was nonplussed. "But the rules here are different. You're on a team, but each person is also alone."

110 Joseph answered, "I don't like these rules." As several of his classmates nodded and murmured agreement, he added, "Let's make new rules."

111 "We can't do that. How could we change the rules?"

112 "Let us work together in teams, not alone against each other," Joseph answered.

113 "All right," Mrs. Custer answered, "I'll think about that. I don't know just how we could do it, but I'll try to think of a way. But, if we try a different kind of spelling bee, you have to promise that you'll behave and play by the rules I make." The class had quieted down during the last part of the interchange. As Mrs. Custer looked around the room, she asked, "Okay?" Several children nodded their heads. She looked at Joseph, her eyebrows raised. Joseph nodded.

114 Mrs. Custer was pleased, although she had no idea how she could modify the spelling bee rules. That, she decided, would give her something to think about during the long drive to the city on the weekend. "All right, children, you can return to your seats. We'll drop the spelling bee for today and try it a little differently on Monday." The children returned to their seats noisily; Mrs. Custer had little hope that there would be peace or quiet for the rest of the day.

Like Mrs. Custer, the Teacher Corps Interns are often confused by what they encounter in Distant Drum. But also like many of the teachers, the Interns are young, enthusiastic, and anxious to bring new ideas into the school and community. Unfortunately, the realities of life in Distant Drum often dampen the enthusiasm of new teachers and they quickly move on. Despite having many common goals and frustrations, the teachers and Interns have been slow to reach common understandings and to work together. The fact that the year's first superintendent had misrepresented the Interns' role was one major factor in the faculty's slowness to accept the Interns. Throughout the year, however, there have been on-going discrepancies between the faculty's and Interns' perceptions. For example, the faculty sees itself as a group of professionals who deserve respect from non-professionals—and they consider the Interns non-professionals. The Interns had expected to learn from the teachers—but they had also expected to learn *with* the faculty members. As one Intern says, "The teachers don't seem to think we have anything to offer—they think we're just warm bodies, somebody to do their dirty work. When I offer an idea to a teacher, I usually hear, 'Well, when you're a teacher, you can try it—if you still think it's a good idea then.' " 115

There are also tensions between the graduate Interns and their undergraduate counterparts. One of the undergrads says, "The grads have over-inflated egos. They get to go on all the fun trips—like their trip to Florida for the CMTI, whatever *that* is. They get to go off the 'res' more than we do, and they don't have to be go-fers for the teachers like we do. I think it's gotten better, but we all need to work together more as a real team. Maybe next year we can." 116

The teacher aides also have reservations about the Interns. There are 30 aides in the school, one in each classroom; all the aides are of The People, but none of them is certificated and none can be left alone in a classroom with the children. Like the undergraduate Interns, the aides feel that the graduate Interns are exempted from many of the menial tasks which are a part of teaching. At the same time, the aides feel they are as qualified as the Interns to help with real teaching tasks, but they are almost never allowed to do that. 117

The Interns did not anticipate the problems they would have in being accepted by the Distant Drum faculty, aides, and undergraduate Interns. They did expect to have a difficult time in convincing The People of their sincerity and worth. The Anglo Interns, especially, expected some resentment. Thus, one of them was not surprised in the grocery store when an elder asked her if she were 118

one of The People. She replied, "No, I am not."

119 The elder then responded, "We don't want you here. Why don't you go back where you came from?"

120 Another day, though, the Intern was walking home through town and was greeted by one of The People with, "Hi, Teacher!" That, the Intern says, was the beginning of acceptance. The Interns have learned that The People will accept them one by one if they demonstrate a commitment to the children and The People. That, they are learning, is a slow process—and there have been setbacks.

121 There have been other kinds of setbacks, too—as well as rewards. Like the new teachers, the Interns are learning that it is difficult to stimulate children to continue their learning outside of school. All the educational resources in the community are based in the school, and few homes have books or television. While the parents do not discourage their children from studying at home, they also do not encourage them; the Interns have made many home visits—often with the Community Coordinator—and have asked parents to encourage studying. One of the more traditional parents responded to such a request by saying, "My child has to decide to study—it is my child's choice. I cannot help my child to learn the White Man's ways when I don't understand them myself."

122 Like some of the newer teachers, the Interns have sometimes become frustrated when they tried new things in the classroom. One Intern says, "The older teachers act like they're the principal or something. When I want to try something new, they say it won't work. They say their methods have been working for years and will still work. Then they go into a long pep talk about how they've been around a long time, they've seen people like us come and go—they've stayed, and they know what's best. When they say something like that, there's just not much I can say to answer it."

123 One time, an Intern complained to the Team Leader about an older teacher's pep talk. The Team Leader said, "I support your ideas, and maybe they *will* work, but Mr. Methuselah has been around here longer than I have—and certainly longer than you. The teachers listen to him; he's got something none of the rest of us have—experience."

124 During a similar conversation, the school principal said, "It's true that the older teachers have been here longer than the rest of us. Since we haven't gotten around to tightening up the school, we have to rely upon teachers like Mr. Methusela to help us along. He's not so bad, really, and he certainly means well. Besides, you will have some freedom next year when you do more teaching—you can try

out some of your ideas and see if they work. You see, with so many superintendents coming and going, we have to count on the older teachers to keep the school running—they know where everything is, and they know what's been done in the past."

The Five-Year Master Plan, which is now two years old, was designed to address many of Distant Drum's problems. For example, the school's teachers speak only English, and the aides often act as translators, but reading and language problems persist; 77 percent of the children qualified for Title I programs in reading and math last year. The master plan called for an individualized instruction program to address that problem, but the plan has not yet been fully devised. During their first year, the Interns and some teachers have been attempting to plan the individualized program, but they are meeting some resistance from the older teachers. 125

The primary pod was another master plan component—the only one which was achieved. But the pod seems like a regular classroom, with bookcases for walls and teachers standing at the front of the room. When an Intern suggested moving bookcases to make the space more open and flexible, a teacher said, "If we do that, the children will get the idea they can just wander around the room, doing anything they please. School is not that way, and the parents don't want it that way. It's better this way." 126

Another problem addressed by the Five-Year Master Plan was the community's desire for its own culture, history, and language to be taught in the school. In response to that desire, the plan stated the goal of finding at least fifteen teachers from The People. So far, none has been found. Through the Teacher Corps project, however, some staff training is now being provided in The People's history and culture. Many teachers feel that that training is not the best use of their time and skills, since tribal culture can be taught at home, and since the job of the school is to teach basic knowledge and skills. 127

There are many reasons why the goals of the master plan have not been met; willful bad intentions is not one of them. In fact, the Distant Drum school has a clear statement of policy which supports the goals of the master plan: 128

- All students will be treated with dignity at all times. 129
- All personnel shall make every effort to further the democratic process so that every child may be happy and free from duress while under our educational charge. 130
- Parents and legal guardians are the single most important protective agency that governs a child's attitude and interests in 131

educational needs and aspirations. They, too, will be treated with dignity at all times.

132 • Parents are welcome to visit the school at all times and must be consulted and informed when a child's program requires changing.

133 • The Board of Trustees will uphold all laws, mandates, edicts, and requirements established to operate and administer a school, as set forth by the U.S. Government, the State, the People's Tribal Council, the BIA, and other authoritarian bodies until such time as one may be in direct conflict with another, or it is not in the best interest of Distant Drum School.

134 The Teacher Corps project in Distant Drum believes this statement of policy is important to the education of The People. The project also has several goals in addition to training Interns. One major goal is the plan to implement an Educational Training Complex in the building behind the school. Since the host university is well over a hundred miles from Distant Drum, the Training Complex design attempts to bring the university resources to The People and their teachers. Intern and teacher training classes are held in the complex, and many teaching and learning resources are available there. The Training Complex is intended to respond to the training needs of all the teachers, aides, administrators, and other school staff at Distant Drum.

135 The project also aims to provide greater opportunity for The People to gain economic independence through educational careers. That involves Associate of Arts degrees for classroom aides, the undergraduate Intern program, and training and stipends for community members who assist as tutors and cultural advisors to the project. Another project goal is the development of a cultural component which is based on the culture of The People and which is delivered to the children in Distant Drum.

136 Toward those ends, the project has developed a network which facilitates the flow of information between and among project team members. Interns, teachers, parents, administrators, Teacher Corps staff, and community members are all represented by their own advisory boards, and one member from each group is also on the overall Training Complex Board. The primary responsibility of the Training Complex Board is to channel information gathered from its members to all the advisory boards so that all groups are informed of what the others are doing. A secondary responsibility of that board is to monitor the project's activities in order to ensure that its goals and

objectives are met.

Through the Training Complex Board and other project mechanisms, the project has been successful in meeting many of its first-year goals. The project has identified the community's and the school's needs, and developed activities to meet those needs. Both the Community Advisory Board and the Teacher Advisory Board are functioning well, and have grown. Those two boards have also begun to work together on common problems. The Interns have become actively involved in those boards, and are beginning to feel increasingly accepted by the community, school, teachers, and students. The project has also been instrumental in forming adult education classes and recreation programs. 137

Over the course of their first year in Distant Drum, the Interns, particularly Noah, have weathered many storms. Mona and Lisa have smiled through their experiences—both the good and the not-so-good. The fourth Intern had more difficulty in adjusting to life in Distant Drum; he left the project in mid-year. Noah, Mona, and Lisa all say that they would do it all over again if they had the chance. Mona plans to stay in Distant Drum after the project is over; Lisa is not sure. Noah says he will remain with The People, but will probably work in a different school on the reservation. 138

Mona says, "It's been hectic—I've done a phenomenal amount of classwork toward certification; I've practiced teaching in all grade levels; and I've skied on weekends. Sure, I'd do it again." 139

Noah's advice is, "Don't let a few raindrops get you down; sooner or later you'll find yourself on a mountaintop. My advice to other Interns coming here would be to observe and analyze what you see carefully. Be yourself. If you can, get some tapes and listen to the sounds of the area before you come. Prepare yourself by observing everything you can—and don't worry about fitting in." 140

In varying degrees and in different ways, the Interns have found satisfaction in Distant Drum; they have spent a great deal of time with children and their parents in the community, and have helped to organize many recreational and educational programs. They have also developed many close and lasting friendships, both among themselves and among The People. Their relationships with others in the school are also developing, and they are optimistic about what the second year of their project will bring. 141

3
MID-AMERICA

A SMALL TOWN

A science classroom in a town we shall call Mid-America. The eighth grade. There are 32 students in the room; five of them are Black; 27 are white. The room is divided into learning centers: one is a display of specimens in bottles, which some students are examining for their unit in oceanography; another deals with the metric system, which is a state-mandated emphasis; a third area features health careers. The teacher is moving around the room, helping students as they work at their seats. Some of the students are working together, while others work alone. The junior high school, in conjunction with its Teacher Corps project, is emphasizing the personalization of instruction, and the classroom is a good example of that emphasis. The students have been given some choices of learning objectives and activities, and are now working toward their individual objectives. 1

As the teacher moves about the room, she pauses to talk with a Teacher Corps Intern who is observing the class. "One thing you might watch," she says, "is how little the kids need me. They're working on their own or helping each other. I may be working myself out of a job!" 2

The conversation is interrupted by a student who asks if the teacher has graded his last report. Another asks if " . . . maybe the book messed up? I can't make this problem work like the book says it should." The teacher sits down with the student to work through the problem step by step. 3

Occasionally the busy students are interrupted by an unnecessarily loud voice. When that happens, the teacher calls quietly to the 4

student, and peace is restored. Working her way around the room, the teacher pauses at the specimen display to talk to a student. "Have you finished your contract on the metric system?" She answers the student's bashful look with, "I guess not, huh? I just wondered what you were doing up here. They're interesting, aren't they? We'll write up a contract for the oceanography unit when you finish metrics." The student returns to his seat and the metric system.

5 Another student is staring intently at a specimen. "I've looked in four sources. I know that thing has 80 legs. I know that. I know that it . . . I know it, but I can't answer the question."

6 Just as the Intern is about to say something to the student, the teacher puts her hand on the Intern's arm. She tells the student, "Keep looking. You'll get it."

7 As the student moves away, she says, "He's sharp. He can find it."

8 Toward the end of the period, the students begin to straighten the room. They sharpen pencils, hand in completed worksheets, and return materials to the learning centers. The last minute or so is student time; they talk quietly while the teacher and Intern talk over what has happened during the last forty minutes.

That's the way it is in one of the classrooms in the Mid-America Junior High School. The school's administrators, teachers, and parents collaborated with the local college to develop the Mid-America Teacher Corps project, and through that process they identified two areas of special need: personalization of instruction and the development of reading skills. Those complementary strategies have worked together to create a success-oriented environment in which the school's 800 students are responsible for their own learning. 9

Some of Mid-America's teachers officially became aware of the reading and personalization emphases in late August when they reported for three days of in-service training and orientation before school opened. Of course, many of the teachers had heard news of the training emphases and the Teacher Corps project during the summer as they chatted on Sunday mornings after church or gathered for softball games in the town's park. Others were aware of the new program because they had helped plan it. But the official word of the project came during the pre-school orientation. The Teacher Corps Interns had not returned to Mid-America from their Corpsmember Training Institute by the time of the pre-school orientation, and so were given a slightly different briefing on the project's training emphases and their relationship to the school's special needs. They also missed the briefing on the Teacher Corps which was given to the faculty during the three-day orientation. Later, once the project was under way, the Interns came to wonder just what the faculty had been told. 10

By the time the Interns and Team Leader returned from the CMTI, school had already begun; during their pre-school workshop, the 50 school faculty and staff members had discussed the new strategies. They had also identified the training they felt they would need before they could apply the new emphases in their classrooms. The faculty members were largely supportive of the new thrusts; they knew the principal strongly backed the thrusts, and had followed his 11

lead for the past five years. They also knew that some of the school's teachers had been involved in identifying the needed areas. That also had won support. Some teachers were unsure of the new approaches' usefulness—largely because they had been unaware of them until the pre-school meeting. A smaller group of teachers was negative about the new thrusts; they felt there had not been enough teacher participation in identifying the needs, and were resentful of the one afternoon each week which would be required for after-school planning. Some teachers were also wondering about the Teacher Corps and the Interns who would be coming to the school. The Interns, of course, had their own needs and many expectations about what life would be like in Mid-America.

12 The three-day orientation and training session was followed by workshops after school on Thursdays. During those sessions, the teachers divided into groups and worked with a resource person from the college to plan ways to apply the strategies. Originally, the training in reading strategies was to be provided only for four Interns and four teachers. There was a great deal of interest in the reading program, however, and 38 teachers and administrators signed up for that course, even though it was held before school in the morning. The college reading instructor began the first workshop by asking the group why the series was so popular. In response, group members said things like:

13 "There's been so much talk in the faculty lounge about it that I figured it was going to be a good thing—something I ought to be involved in."

14 "I'm here to teach, but before I can really teach, I have to reach my students. If I can learn how to help them read better, I guess I've got a head start."

15 "When I saw the principal had signed up, I decided I would, too."

16 "My parents were only marginally literate, and I know what a burden it can be for children who don't learn to read. So, here I am."

17 "From what I've seen of you around the school, I think you'll be an interesting instructor."

18 The instructor followed up the last comment by asking what "interesting" meant. After an embarrassed pause, the teacher blurted, "Well, you don't look like us!"

19 "Is it my boots? My levis? My beard? My ponytail?"

20 She responded impulsively, "All of the above!"

21 The boots, levis, beard, and ponytail did sometimes make Mid-America uneasy, but the instructor had found some ways of over-

coming others' discomfort. A shave, haircut, and trip to Brooks Brothers hadn't been among the solutions, though, and the Mid-America faculty was a bit put off by the man's image at first. Slowly, the faculty came to accept their "hippie prof," as some teachers called him. As they watched the instructor interact with students, they sometimes envied his easy way with kids; he wasn't in the school to work with children, but he was often seen stopping to direct a stray student to class, or to pick up a dropped notebook. Sometimes he sat in the school foyer over a textbook with a student who was looking for help.

22 The Teacher Corps Interns identified to some extent with the in-service instructor. Like him, they sometimes dressed in levis and boots, and some had long hair. Like him, they took a casual approach to relating to students. But, unlike the instructor, the Interns couldn't seem to convince the teachers that there was more to them than appearances. One of the Interns told a teacher he felt discriminated against because of his dress and appearance, and said he didn't feel that was fair, since he didn't look that much different from the instructor, who was given respect and was listened to.

23 The teacher answered, "That's true, I do listen to the instructor, and I respect him. I respect you as a person, too. But you're here to learn—you are just beginning, and you're here to help out in the classroom according to what the teachers think is best. The instructor is an expert in reading; he knows what he's talking about. He's always on time for class, and he's prepared when he gets there. And he understands how to be friendly with kids without being their buddy; that's something you need to learn. I'm learning a lot from him, and I think you could too."

24 The school principal felt much the same way. The teachers recognized that, and were very much aware that the principal had enrolled in the reading class because he felt the instructor had a lot to offer. The principal wasn't a hippie. He didn't sympathize much with the counterculture, let alone identify with it. But he *was* taking the course. He *was* involved in the learning process. And he was often seen talking in hallways or the foyer with the instructor. The faculty agreed with the principal on most things; he made sense. To some extent, the faculty liked the instructor because the principal did.

25 In contrast to his feelings about the in-service instructor, the principal felt the Interns had a lot to learn. He had been among those who briefed the Interns on their role and the school's expectations, but he felt they had not heard what he said. In a conversation with

the Team Leader, the principal had said that the Interns seemed more like undergraduates than graduate students and asked what the CMTI had done to prepare the Interns for Mid-America Junior High.

26 "Frankly," the Team Leader had replied, "I think the CMTI caused some of the problem. The whole CMTI system was so informal—people could come and go as they pleased, and nobody much kept track. I was busy with my own learning at the CMTI, and I was uncomfortable with the lack of structure there—it wasn't much like a junior high school. I think you can understand my problem, but some of my colleagues don't. They've known me for a long time and I think they basically trust me, but the Interns have put me in a tight spot. The teachers are after me to make the Interns more responsible—to discipline them like the kids. But the Interns are having trouble adjusting, and I'm the bad guy because I try to make them conform and get their work done. I'm a member of their team, but I'm not their mother."

27 The Interns had a different view. Sure, they were there to learn—but they had some ideas, too. They weren't there to be lackeys for the teachers. They were there to work with children, just like the three student teachers at the school. They hadn't had all the education courses the student teachers had, but that might be an advantage—the Interns weren't biased, and their minds weren't cluttered with the trivia that occupied the student teachers.

28 The teachers' personal objections to the Interns were especially annoying. Mid-America's community and schools are now somewhat integrated and racial divisions are not the problem they once were. Even so, some questions were raised about the Interns' lifestyles and appearances. For example, one of the Black Interns had the sort of Afro that no one wants to sit behind at the movies. A haircut, some teachers suggested, wouldn't hurt.

29 The teachers also thought the Interns could be more sensitive to the community's views on morality. When they first arrived in Mid-America, the two Black Interns, a man and a woman, had considered the possibility of living together to save money. The two white Interns, again a man and a woman, thought they might do the same. Meanwhile, one of the faculty members was talking with a realtor in the barber shop and learned of the plan. The living arrangement was the talk of the school the next morning, and several teachers told the Team Leader she should put a stop to such an idea. When the Team Leader raised the subject with the Interns, one of them pointed out that housing was neither cheap nor plentiful in Mid-America. He concluded his argument with, "What would

people say if we mixed races as well as sexes? Anyway," he said, "there's nothing going on—we're looking for two-bedroom apartments."

"If you do this, you'll be paying for it for the next two years," the Team Leader replied. "The community will never accept you, and you will be outcasts. They won't want you teaching their children—even as Interns—and you'll never get a job here. You'd better do some serious thinking about it." 30

The Interns were right about one thing: housing is not cheap or plentiful in Mid-America. Accommodations can be found in various categories from expensive to inadequate, but Intern stipends did not allow for the former category, and the latter didn't sound like much fun. Eventually, the two woman Interns found a place together and each of the men decided to live alone. 31

When they shopped for apartments, the Interns learned that the community's public housing and subsidized low-rent apartments have long waiting lists, and houses for sale or rent are too expensive for low-income groups. There is currently only one plan in Mid-America for new housing, and that is for the conversion of a college dormitory into low-rent apartments for the elderly. Urban renewal and other federal projects have almost eliminated the large concentrations of Mid-America's undesirable housing; its low-rent housing is concentrated in the areas where Black people live, largely apart from whites. This physical separation of the town's ethnic groups has resulted primarily from many recent urban renewal projects which have occasioned community-sponsored relocation of low-income groups. 32

In fact, there seems to be some deliberate pattern in Mid-America which has resulted both in breaking up Black neighborhoods and in physically separating Blacks and whites. As community facilities have needed more space, Black residential areas have been "relocated" to provide necessary sites. Black community members—who make up 14 percent of the town's population—recall the first such relocation when the local college purchased a site for a performing arts center and a student activities center. Now, many years later, the pattern still continues. There is currently a plan to relocate the town's hospital and to build a new highway; both of these plans would effectively divide and fragment the Black community even further. The community has had difficulty in resisting these encroachments, since there are no Black members on the City Commission or the Planning and Zoning Board. 33

The town, as its name implies, is located in Mid-America, about 34

an hour's drive from a major city. The community has been going through a great deal of development over the past several years, and is experiencing growing pains—thus many of its older residents refer to it as a town, while newer citizens think of it as a small city. The facts are that it has 30,000 residents and is the county seat of an area whose population is only 61,000. Of the town's 30,000 residents, 13,000 are college students. Both the white and Black residents adhere to small town or rural Midwestern mores and values; they believe in their institutions—particularly their churches—and they support established groups in the community.

35 Aside from the church's influence on Mid-America's values and attitudes, it is an important social institution in the community. There are 101 churches representing 25 denominations in the town and its surrounding area; over 80 percent of the residents are Protestant, and a majority of the Protestants are Baptist. There are many large churches among the group of 101, but there is also a large number of smaller churches which have split off from the larger congregations. These splinter groups are located primarily in the poorer neighborhoods, and attract nearby residents, to some extent contributing to the community's fragmentation.

36 Although the town's teenagers complain that there's nothing to do in Mid-America, the church provides many activities; there are frequent covered-dish suppers, picnics, and, at Christmas, caroling parties. For the town's Black residents, the church is a voice in community affairs. Many of the low-income Black people in Mid-America feel that the very small group of middle- and upper middle-income Blacks are "Uncle Toms"; the church is the one place where the minority population works together.

37 The divisions in the Black community have their roots in the town's history, as well as in its fragmented geography. During the Civil Rights Movement, the community began to develop a means of making its views known through the church, and two articulate Black leaders emerged. As the unified movement grew, one of the leaders was hired by the school system and placed in a position which required that he work against his former co-leader. The ensuing community division led to the subsequent collapse of the political movement in the Black community. Now, twenty years later, the community still has not recovered from those divisions.

38 Mid-America's public school system has a total enrollment of 5,400 students. Like the community, the school's population is 14 percent Black and 86 percent white. There was no integration in the schools until 1963, when the high school was desegregated. There

were some racial disturbances among the students when the new high school was opened in 1971, but those problems have for the most part been overcome. The district's only all-Black elementary school was closed in 1973; it was one of the best schools in the district, and Black community members feel that the school's closing served to help fragment the minority population rather than to further integration.

Social activities in the community are largely determined on the basis of race and socio-economic status. The junior high has attempted to counteract such groupings through the creation of four mini-schools. These mini-schools are structured so as to create a heterogeneous student population which mixes students from different races, social classes, and neighborhoods. That strategy has improved the social climate of the school, but has had little effect on students' social patterns outside the school. 39

While their parents gather for coffee klatches at local restaurants or attend church functions according to their social, economic, and professional standing, the students form groups outside of school based on similar characteristics. The two rocreation centers in the low-income areas provide meeting places for the young people who live in those neighborhoods. Summer recreation programs at the elementary schools also attract students according to their neighborhoods. Many young people hang around the shopping mall, where there is a movie theater, a game room, and open areas where they congregate during the warm months. 40

The 800 junior high students also have a social life at school. In the mornings, before school opens, the students' social groups cluster outside the school. Students who graduated from Peachtree Elementary School and who live in that school's neighborhood stay together at the front of the building. The girls in that group are called the "Peachtree Peaches," and the boys are simply "The Panthers." This group, like several others which gather in other areas outside the school, has members of only one race—there are separate groups for Black and white students. If Mid-America Junior High School were in a large city, the members of these early-morning groups would probably be thought of as gangs—and would perhaps act like big-city gangs. But Mid-America is not a big city, and when the opening bell sounds, the students realign to reflect grade levels, mini-school groups, personal cliques, economic and social groups, and athletic prowess. There are often separate Black and white subdivisions of these groups. 41

Since it is the community's only junior high, the school draws 42

students from throughout the town. Almost all the students ride buses to school, and over 25 percent qualify for the free breakfast and lunch program. Fully 32 percent of the students come from families with incomes under $5,000 per year.

43 Most of the junior high's 50 teachers have been there since the school was organized in 1971, and many had taught together in other schools before then. The teachers' average age is 40, and their ethnic ratio corresponds to the students' and community's. Since the birth rate is declining and some families are moving to residential areas outside the district boundaries, some teachers are beginning to fear for their jobs. That insecurity is probably one reason why the teachers have been enthusiastic about the in-service component of the Teacher Corps project; they feel that upgrading their skills will help them keep their jobs if there are teacher cutbacks. Like the community's other residents, most of the teachers' families have lived in Mid-America for several generations, and they intend to stay.

44 Because the principal and others who helped plan the Teacher Corps project stressed the need for a success-oriented environment, the school program stresses individual responsibility. Although they often use these philosophies as the basis for organizing their classrooms, not all the teachers are always successful in getting their students to behave responsibly. Ringo, one of the Teacher Corps Interns, became very much aware of that early in the fall, during the time he was observing a ninth-grade English class.

45 On his first day in class, the teacher took Ringo aside and explained what was going on: "I've got a lot of faith in small group work," Mr. Jefferson said, "So I've broken this class into several teams, which you can see working around the room."

46 "Yes," Ringo said, "They're working hard. How did you get them to work so hard—and so quietly?"

47 "Well, I did two things. First, I let them decide who they would work with—that cuts down any friction that might come up in the group. What they do—and I've been watching it happen for years now—is choose to work together according to the elementary school they went to. Isn't that amazing, that after two years at the junior high, they'd still group themselves according to their elementary school? But that's the way they always group, and it works—they're not fooling around in those groups; they're working on their projects. Sure, there's some occasional laughing or playing, but that's to be expected. After all, this *is* a junior high school!"

48 Ringo then asked, "You said you do two things to keep them

quiet. What's the second?"

"Well, I guess there are really *two* more things," Mr. Jefferson said. "First, these groups are going to be together for the whole year. They won't work in small groups every day, but they'll get together from time to time throughout the year. Also, the groups are competing against each other for grades—that keeps them motivated, you can bet. And it helps keep them out of trouble—if one member of the group messes up, the others jump right on him, since that could affect their grade, too." 49

"Mr. Jefferson, I notice that each group is working on a different project today," Ringo said, "How do you decide which project to give to which group?" 50

Mr. Jefferson smiled. "Ringo, please call me Tom. But the answer to your question is much more simple than you'd guess: the children choose their own projects. That also helps keep them interested. I give them several suggestions that I think are relevant; I tell them about some projects that have been done in past years; and I give them the chance to think up original projects if they don't like any of mine." 51

"Do you just let them do any sort of project they think up?" Ringo asked. 52

"Oh, no. I have veto power. They come up with some pretty good projects, too. The group in the right rear corner, for instance, the group from Toops Elementary, is rewriting a short story into play format; if there's time next week, they'll act out a scene for the rest of the class. The Alfred E. Neuman Elementary group is making a model of the Globe Theater—and doing a pretty good job, too. That group in the other corner is making sketches of costumes for the characters in *Julius Caesar*. Another group—the kids from Youchnievitch Elementary—is in the empty classroom next door. They're practicing some scenes from *Julius Caesar* which they'll perform next week. They're working hard, and their projects will show it." 53

Ringo spent the rest of that first observation period moving between the groups, getting acquainted, and asking each group about its project. The group which was making the Globe Theater model was especially proud of its work. "We made this thing from scratch," a student named Margarita explained. "We found drawings of it in the encyclopedia and used them to build the model. Mr. Jefferson says it's looking better and better. We've just got to put the paint on tomorrow, and we'll be finished. Look, you can even see the stage inside the theater," she said, pointing over the open roof. 54

55 Ringo was impressed. "That's really a good model. It looks real to me."

56 "You damn betcha," replied Margarita, who was pretty salty for a ninth grader.

57 Next, Ringo visited the group which was sketching costumes from pictures in several books they had found in Mid-America's small public library. While the students' artistic ability varied, Ringo was again impressed with the fact that they were working so diligently. He asked one of the boys, "Are you having fun doing this project?"

58 "Not exactly," Charles answered glumly.

59 "What's the trouble? Didn't you choose this project:"

60 "Not exactly."

61 "I thought everybody chose their own project," Ringo said.

62 "Not exactly."

63 "What do you mean, 'not exactly'?"

64 "The group chose this project. I didn't want to do it. I wanted to do the Globe Theater model, but my group didn't want to do that."

65 "Couldn't you switch to the other group?"

66 "Not exactly."

67 "Why not?"

68 "I wanted to be with my friends in this group. I know Margarita and her friends don't want me in their group. Besides, they're all white. What would a soul brother like me be doing with them? Anyway, our drawings are good, too."

69 "Not exactly," Ringo replied.

70 "Whaddaya mean, 'not exactly'?" Charles asked, outraged.

71 "I mean they're not exactly good," Ringo said. "I think they're *great*!" Ringo smiled and added, "Gotcha!"

72 Charles smiled and looked down at his drawing.

73 "Say," Ringo asked, "Why did your group decide to do the drawings, anyway?"

74 "Aw, they just wanted a good grade. They wanted to do this one because it would be the easiest. But any would be easy. We don't really have to work very hard most of the time. Mr. Jefferson lets us get away with it. We can do just about what we want to."

75 "I don't think Mr. Jefferson sees it that way," Ringo said.

76 "Aw, he's easy to snow," Charles answered.

77 "Well, you better be careful not to get caught in a blizzard without your shovel."

78 Charles smiled and returned to his drawing.

79 Charles didn't smile the next day during English class. Neither

did Ringo—nor anyone else in the class. At first it was only the group that had made the Globe Theater model that was upset. But it wasn't long before the entire class was in an uproar. The trouble began when Margarita went to the cupboard to get the model. When she opened the cupboard door, Margarita was struck dumb—perhaps for the first time in her young life. Then, tears in her eyes, she shouted, "Mr. Jefferson!"

The teacher went quickly to the back of the room and looked into the cupboard. There he saw a completely demolished model of the Globe Theater. "Oh," he said, barely audibly. 80

By that time, the class was crowding around the cupboard, and the word quickly spread. "Somebody sat on the Globe," the students quietly told each other. It wasn't long before the group began to impulsively speculate on the identity of the saboteur. The Globe architects were still silent when Mr. Jefferson asked everyone to go to their seats. 81

"Now," Mr. Jefferson said, standing by the open cupboard as the students sat down. "Something terrible has happened. Someone has deliberately destroyed a group's project. That model was one of the best I've ever seen. I want to know who did it." 82

The class was beginning to buzz. "Now quiet down," Mr. Jefferson said. "I don't expect whoever did this to just stand up and admit it. That *would* be the mature thing to do. But I don't expect it to happen right now. I do expect whoever did it to come and see me after class or during lunch." 83

"I want to know who did it," Margarita said, her voice shaking. "I want to know right now. And I bet I already know." 84

Mr. Jefferson answered Margarita, "I can understand you would want to know. I know your whole group feels bad. But you can't expect someone to just stand up in front of the whole class and say, 'I did it.' But I'll find out who did it, and that person will be punished." 85

"Oh, come on, Mr. Jefferson," Margarita said, "We know who did it. Charles did it. He was jealous. He was doing those cruddy sketches, but he really wanted to do the Globe." 86

The teacher ignored Margarita's accusation, but Charles didn't. "You're crazy," he shouted at Margarita. Why would I want to do something like that?" 87

"So your group could get a better grade," Margarita shouted back. "You know you did it." 88

"I did not!" 89

"You did!" 90

91 "Quiet!" Mr. Jefferson bellowed. The room was silent.

92 Margarita raised her hand, her face red with anger.

93 "Mr. Jefferson, what are you going to do about our grade? The model wasn't finished. But you know it was a good one." Margarita and the other members of her group looked expectantly toward Mr. Jefferson.

94 "Yes, it was a good one. Your group will get an 'A' for the project. I can only say I'm sorry this happened. I'm sorry for your sakes and I'm sorry for the person who did it. I'm sorry for the whole class that this thing had to happen. I hope we can learn from it. Whoever did this did more than just wreck a model. That person also hurt other people. And that's something that I don't appreciate in my classroom." With that, Mr. Jefferson told the class to do some exercises in its grammar workbook for the rest of the period, telling them they could finish their projects later in the week.

95 Like the students, Ringo was miffed. He wondered if Mr. Jefferson really expected someone to confess destroying the model. When he asked later, Mr. Jefferson said, "To tell you the truth, I don't know. I suspect no one will confess. But at least I was able to calm down the class and to deal with some pretty traumatic feelings. I was able to give the model builders the reward they were working for all along—the best grade. And, after a few days, the problem will die down and eventually disappear. There's really no other way to solve it; I have no way of finding out who did it—unless someone confesses. And I don't think the students' sense of responsibility has come that far yet. I'm pretty sure Charles didn't do it."

96 Although incidents like the one Ringo witnessed point out some of the failings of the junior high school program, the local school board and its superintendent are generally supportive of its program and goals. The board's five members are elected at large for two-year terms, and thus do not represent a particular constituency or area of the community. The current board has three white members who belong to the city's upper middle-class. These three men are from business and professional fields. Another white man on the board is middle-class, and is a public service professional. The board's single Black member is a local businessman. The board's voting record is consistent, and reveals no factions or alignments with a particular area of the city or its racial groups. Generally a congenial, open group, the board's unpaid members are most concerned about issues related to curriculum, discipline, and the system's declining enrollment. Since the junior high school is in need of repairs, the board has lately been considering whether to renovate the building or to

disperse seventh- and eighth-grade students to elementary schools and ninth graders to the high school.

97 The board and superintendent have sought teachers' and parents' views on this question. They have learned that some community residents feel that renovation would be too costly. On the other hand, many parents and teachers feel that the junior high is necessary because it offers more specialized programs for that age group than could be offered by the elementary or secondary schools. Additionally, they feel the junior high school experience offers a necessary transition between elementary schools and the high school. The board members have not reached a consensus on this question.

98 The board's desire to hear many different views on the junior high school question is typical of its procedures. While all the board members oppose collective bargaining for teachers, they are very much concerned that their decisions be based on input from teachers and administrators. Individually, many teachers have gone before the board to make their views known, and they have been heard out. The group is much less responsive to teacher efforts to deal collectively with the board, and the community's teachers have accepted that position.

99 Like many others in the Mid-America school and community, the superintendent had mixed feelings about the Teacher Corps project. On the one hand, he was aware of the benefits it would bring to the junior high school; on the other, he had been tainted by a previous Teacher Corps project in one of the district's elementary schools. The earlier project, however, was quite different from the current project. For one thing, the principal in the earlier project school had some problems controlling the Interns; the superintendent did not anticipate such problems this time. There would also be fewer Interns this time—only four, as opposed to the previous thirty-two. Even more important, the principal and teachers at the junior high knew what they wanted from the project, and had contributed to its design. Most important, perhaps, the superintendent had been reassured that the current Teacher Corps emphasis on training teachers rather than change agents would ensure a peaceful project. The principal and superintendent did share one continuing reservation, however: the project proposal had said that the Interns would be already-certified teachers, but the Interns who were selected did not have any teaching certification.

100 The Interns were selected in June by a group of parents, the project's Community Coordinator, the principal, a school board member, teachers, and the project's Program Development Spe-

cialist, who is an associate professor at the host college. After interviewing several candidates, the group unanimously selected the four Interns. During the recruitment and selection process, the group oriented the Interns to the community, the school, the college, and the expectations which each would have of the Teacher Corps project and its Interns. The Interns listened carefully, but their minds were not exactly blank tablets; as they listened to the diverse group members talk about their own concerns, the Interns began to wonder where they fit in. In particular, the two experienced social workers felt they understood how to organize and mobilize a community to achieve its goals—but the parents and Community Coordinator seemed to be saying that they didn't want to be organized or mobilized. From their experience as students, all four Interns were full of ideas they wanted to try in the classroom—but the teachers and principal seemed to be telling them they had a lot to learn before they could get to work. The Interns kept their ideas to themselves.

101 As part of their orientation, the Interns were given a tour of the community by a parent. She showed them the shopping areas, hospitals, and community service agencies. Along with the Team Leader, she also took the Interns on a drive through the community so that they could become familiar with the junior high students' various neighborhoods. After those two weeks of initial activities, the Interns and Team Leader attended the CMTI.

102 The Interns—John, Paula, Georgette, and Ringo—had varying feelings about the importance and worth of the CMTI. Paula, in particular, felt that it had been a good preparation for entry into the project school. Her CMTI instructors had emphasized three rules of thumb for Interns during the early project months: try to avoid alienating others—be careful what you say and do; don't expect to be instantly accepted by the school and community—it takes time; and accept whatever tasks you are given—teaching isn't all glamorous. Paula considered that advice very helpful, and tried to follow it when she returned to Mid-America.

103 Georgette, on the other hand, was anxious to get to Mid-America and to start working with students. She felt the CMTI was of no value. She later said, "I never expected to be accepted in the early months; it didn't bother me, since the Team Leader and principal stood behind me. I wasn't given any responsibilities that were really distasteful—but I did sometimes feel that some of the things I was asked to do didn't really capitalize on my potential. I would have liked to have spent more time teaching; I felt as if we were sort of isolated from the real teaching job that was going on all around us."

John, the third Intern, felt let down when he returned to Mid- 104
America. The CMTI group had been very supportive and he was a bit nervous about leaving the Institute for his magical mystery tour into "the real world." His fears were confirmed to some extent; John found it difficult to become a real member of the school staff. He came to feel that the teachers and the Team Leader—like the CMTI staff, he said in retrospect—emphasized what couldn't be done, rather than what *could* be done. "I just wish the teachers were aware of what we know," he later said, "Some treat us like college students, or something. But then some teachers do just the opposite—they expect us to be able to just take over, to do everything. It's been really frustrating, because there are so many things I feel I can do—things I was told I would get a chance to do—that no one ever asks me to do. But if I say, 'I can't do that,' when I'm asked to do something I'm not ready for, I'll never get asked again. I just don't think all the teachers understand what we're here for."

Finally, Ringo felt the CMTI had been a good preparation for 105
entry to the school. He expected the period of adjustment and acceptance to be slow and a bit rough, and wasn't surprised that it was nearly Christmas before he was invited to any faculty parties. "I worked at it, though," he says. "I was really on my best behavior. I bent over backwards to avoid problems. Even when I didn't think I was being used in the best way, I went along. Sure, it was frustrating for me; the worst thing was all the menial tasks I was assigned. I felt like I was given those jobs just to keep me busy with unimportant things, like the guy on the bass drum in a parade. I didn't feel I could initiate any ideas. I guess I felt like no one would listen to me—they just didn't seem to think I might have some ideas, too. "

Abby, the Team Leader, had been at the CMTI with the Interns, 106
and she had a fifth impression of what it was all about. She had been a teacher at the junior high for several years, as had most of her colleagues; although she had never had a supervisory position in the school, the school's faculty council had recommended her as the project Team Leader, and she was intent upon fulfilling her colleagues' expectations. Her trip to the CMTI hadn't been among those expectations, and when she returned from the Institute, the Team Leader suffered a few slings and arrows about her free "vacation." Luckily for her, she hadn't had time to get a suntan, and countered the ribbing by rolling up a sleeve to display her pallor. Even so, she worried sometimes during the first months about what others might be saying about her special role. She didn't want to be "special"—she just wanted to be one of the faculty, like she had always been.

107 The Team Leader had mixed feelings about the CMTI, too. While it had been a good learning experience for her, she felt that it had contributed to some early problems in the school. For example, the CMTI's tone had been a bit too lax and hadn't prepared the Interns for the reality of Mid-America Junior High. The freedom and informality of the CMTI seemed to have given the Interns the idea that they could pretty much come and go as they pleased—but it's not like that in schools, she says. The differences between the CMTI and the school also made it difficult for the teachers to readily accept the Interns as professionals.

108 In order to compensate for the discrepancy between the Interns' and teachers' perceptions, the Team Leader began to emphasize Intern responsibilities and has tried to make it clear to the team that there are many requirements which they must meet. But Abby feels uncomfortable in having to prod and coax the Interns to meet their obligations; she would like it much better if she could simply tell the team what has to be done, and then let them do it. It doesn't always work that way, though, and Abby is beginning to get tired of always giving advice. She wishes the Interns could become more responsible and independent. Abby takes pains to point out her problems to her colleagues, in hopes that they will understand the difficulty of her task and not think too harshly of her when the Interns get into trouble.

109 Meanwhile, the School-Community Council was conducting home visits and small group meetings in efforts to inform the community of the Teacher Corps project and its effects in the school. At the early council meetings, parents expressed concern primarily for their own children, but they eventually became interested in the total school—and even extended that interest to the high school which their children would soon be attending. Of particular concern was the question of how their children were being prepared to make the transition from the relatively open junior high to the more traditional high school. Parents wondered whether the high school was planning any similar programs, and, when they learned it was not, they requested time to speak at the next school board meeting. At that meeting many parents expressed their concerns, often comparing school-community contacts in the junior high with those in the secondary school. The secondary school did poorly in comparison, and, since many of the junior high parents also had children in high school, they began to put pressure on the high school. Since the high school principal would soon be retiring, there was also talk in the community about recommending that the junior high school princi-

pal be moved up. The principal was flattered—and interested.

Meanwhile, junior high students were also asking for some changes. Since they had begun to take responsibility for their own learning, they were also beginning to take responsibility in other areas, and began to ask for privileges they felt they had earned. After several meetings between students, teachers, and administrators, the students finally were successful in having the no-gum-chewing rule rescinded. The students celebrated by designating that month's Friday night dance "The Gum-Chewers' Ball." Soon after that, the Interns began to give out sticks of gum as rewards; the teachers weren't especially pleased, but they went along. There was also a lot of peer pressure among the students; those who had led the fight to abolish the rule were afraid it would be reinstituted if gum wrappers and A-B-C gum began to clutter the school. They *just knew* that one wad of gum under one teacher's shoe would end the whole thing! 110

The teachers have effected some changes. When they recently complained that their training program required too much time—and was not accompanied by any reduction in teaching responsibilities—the Team Leader raised the problem with the director. The two talked for some time, and the Team Leader told the director that she was getting heat from the teachers. The director told her that training activities would slow down during the second year, and said she hoped the Team Leader could weather the storm for a bit longer. 111

Unsatisfied, the Team Leader next went to the school principal and told him of the problem. "I talked to the director," she said, "but I don't know if anything will happen. I'm afraid she'll just let it ride." The principal then arranged to meet with the director and was successful in slightly reducing the training time commitment. The Team Leader was feeling much better the next week as she spread the word among the teachers. 112

For their part, the Interns feel that the Team Leader hasn't helped the problems they face in being accepted in Mid-America. John says the Team Leader doesn't really understand the problem, since she has been in Mid-America all her life. Further, since the Interns only relate to other teachers through the Team Leader, he feels isolated. Like a visitor in a foreign country, he says, he fears his visa may be revoked at any time. He wishes he could have more direct contact with the teachers, without having to work through the Team Leader. 113

Since the principal and Project Director seldom met during the first year, most of their contacts were filtered through the Team Leader. That system tended to garble messages, and eventually re- 114

sulted in weekly meetings of the director, principal, Team Leader, and a person who was key to whatever issues were to be discussed. Those meetings have been helpful in resolving discrepancies in perceptions of the various project role groups. They have also been helpful in coordinating planning for the project in the school, community, and college.

115 Another group, the Steering Committee, has also been concerned with the project's operation. That group, which has 11 members, as compared with the School-Community Council's 15, includes a parent representative, a teacher, a guidance counselor, the principal, the director, and several people from the college who are responsible for various components of the training program. An Intern has also recently joined the group. The Steering Committee has several working sub-committees which deal with project components such as the multi-cultural focus, reading strategies, and personalization of instruction. Initially, the group was responsible for reviewing the progress of the project and approving project directions which had already been determined by individual members of the group. Now, however, the group as a whole is beginning to determine new project directions.

116 While the Steering Committee meets at the college, back in the school the four Interns are learning—and doing. The teachers, too, are learning—and doing. In the community, parents are becoming more aware of their part in their children's education. Some changes are taking place within the college, too. Most important, the children of Mid-America are profiting from all the activity—and that is what the Teacher Corps is about.

4
BUENA VISTA

A BILINGUAL SETTING

Tengo mi orgullo, tengo mi fe
Soy diferente, soy color café
Tengo cultura, tengo corazón
Y no me los quita, a mí ni un cabrón.

—Juanita Dominguez

I often think que es muy dificil
Explicar what is Chicano,
Mexicano Americano.
Y siempre, don't you understand
That I'm so blessed;
Tengo the best of two worlds
Para descojer.

Puedo love mi carro
And amar mi familia.
Puedo celebrate el diez y seis de septiembre
Y the Fourth of July.
Puedo hablar Inglés or Spanish or Spanglish.
Ancina es que soy bilingue.

—Anna Perez

Spanish. Spanglish. Mexican American. Chicano. Those who understand the language and culture understand those words and the feeling they portray. Those who do not understand are perhaps confused: they are perhaps feeling left out, different, tricked, made to feel foolish. Perhaps they have begun to understand how it feels when others speak a different language; perhaps they are briefly experiencing the isolation which can grow from language differences. 1

The Buena Vista Teacher Corps project understands, for it is working with the teachers of children whose first language is not English—children who learn Spanish as their first language and arrive in school with varying knowledge of English, their second language. Since language is a major means of transmitting culture—and often the very embodiment of culture—the children of the Chicano culture encounter not only a new language when they enter school, but also a new culture, the Anglo culture. Bilingual education is one approach to helping Chicano children cope with the new language and culture they encounter in school. The Teacher Corps has several projects which are training teachers to work in bilingual programs; Buena Vista is one of those projects. 2

Many of the Spanish-English bilingual projects in the United States are located in the Southwest, where there are large concentrations of Spanish-speaking children. But there are also such programs in other areas where Spanish-speaking children live: Illinois, New York, Michigan, and Florida. The Buena Vista project is located in one of the latter areas, and serves an elementary school in the *barrio* of a much larger city. The larger city is 68 percent Anglo, 13 percent Black, and 19 percent Mexican American. 3

The city has a population of over 400,000 and has grown rapidly in recent years. During its first few decades, the city was primarily a college town; the outlying agricultural areas also provided a source 4

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of income and identity for the community, but its growth was minimal and its population stable. In the past few decades, however, the city has been taking on a new identity as the home of two major and growing universities. It is also the headquarters of several major corporations and the home of many growing industries. The two local universities, one of which hosts the Buena Vista project, have been a major factor in the city's growth. During the past few decades, both of these universities have undertaken extensive growth programs, and the city has become known as a center of intellectual and research activity. This reputation in turn has attracted many of the corporate and industrial firms which now make their home in the city. Meanwhile, the outlying agricultural areas have attracted Mexican American migrant workers, many of whom have settled in the Buena Vista section of the city.

5 By and large, the professional and technical work force in the city is made up of Anglos. Black and Chicano residents hold agricultural, manufacturing, and construction jobs. The Black and Chicano population has a higher unemployment rate than the city at large, and there is a hard core of unemployed residents in the minority communities. The median income for the city's professionals is upwards of $25,000, while low-income groups earn around $4,000 per year.

6 The low-income minority communities are found on the north and south sides of the city. The south side is dominated by Mexican Americans, although some Blacks also live in the *barrio*. The north side, on the other hand, is largely Black, with some Chicano families also living in the area. The south side, which is called Buena Vista, is 84 percent Chicano, 13 percent Black, and 3 percent Anglo. The Elm Street Elementary School, where the Buena Vista Teacher Corps project is located, has 625 students in kindergarten through the fifth grade. Like Buena Vista, the school is 84 percent Chicano, 13 percent Black, and 3 percent Anglo. Ninety-four percent of the school's students are from low-income families. These figures contrast sharply with the overall ethnic and income figures for the city; for example, the enrollment of Chicano elementary students in the total city school district is 25 percent, but Chicanos make up 84 percent of the student population at Elm Street. When asked about this discrepancy, school board members point out that Elm Street is a neighborhood school and say that, since no students are bused into the area, the school's ethnic population is determined by neighborhood housing patterns.

7 The Buena Vista *barrio* is separated from the rest of the city by

freeways and railroads. In the north, the primarily Black area is similarly separated by a river, railroad tracks, industrial plants, and a freeway. Over half of the city's Mexican American population lives in Buena Vista. Homes in the area are largely substandard apartment buildings and single-family dwellings, with more than one family often sharing such small houses. Frequently, too, aunts, uncles, and grandparents share these homes in an extended family arrangement. While the larger city boasts an extensive system of parks and recreational facilities, Buena Vista has only a single mini-park. This park is on the fringe of the *barrio*, and is separated from the community itself by a major thoroughfare.

Outsiders view the *barrio* as unsafe, and are afraid to go there, especially at night. Community residents, on the other hand, can often be seen walking in the streets—there are no sidewalks in Buena Vista—on warm evenings, greeting other passers-by, and stopping to talk with older homeowners. The Roman Catholic Church is a major institution in the community; there is also one Baptist church in the *barrio*. These churches sponsor many activities for entertainment, recreation, and community improvement. Recently the churches have worked together to sponsor a series of meetings on the subject of urban renewal. At those meetings, community members have voiced their opinions on how the *barrio's* deteriorating housing might be improved, and leaders from the clergy and the community have made a commitment to speak with city administrators. When they speak with those administrators, the community leaders plan to ask for two things: first, funds for neighborhood improvement, and second, a voice in how those funds are used. 8

If past history is any indicator of the degree to which the community will be successful in this effort, Buena Vista is in trouble. Earlier attempts to funnel Model Cities and other federal funds into the *barrio* met with little success; during the late 1960's and early 1970's, most such funds were allocated to the north side of the city, which had been ravaged by its own problems: poverty, unemployment, substandard housing, inadequate educational programs, and a major riot. While the south side shared many of those problems, the *barrio's* leaders were not as successful as their Black counterparts in gaining funds for the community, and there is still some bitterness in Buena Vista toward the north side. Meanwhile, there is a serious lack of job opportunities in Buena Vista. Health care and social service programs and facilities are located outside the *barrio*, some distance away. 9

Police-community relations are also a problem in Buena Vista. 10

Language, cultural, and ethnic barriers form the basis of mutual distrust between the community and the police department. Community members' fear of police officers also plays a role in the mutual distrust, as does police officers' wariness of the *barrio* and its residents. It was only seven years ago when the first Mexican American police officer was hired by the city. Now there are only a handful of Mexican American police officers; they make up just over 1 percent of the force.

11 For all of its problems, the Buena Vista community is relatively stable. While new in-migrants arrive steadily in the *barrio*, most of the community's residents have lived there for many years. Only the *Vendidos* or *Tío Tacos* appear to move away and forget *dónde vivían*. While Black communities have "Oreo cookies," Native Americans have "Apples," and Asian communities have "Bananas," Mexican American communities have "Coconuts"—people who are brown on the outside and white on the inside. It is this small group which most often moves out of Buena Vista as they climb upward economically.

12 There are many mixed feelings in the *barrio* about those who move on. Those who are able to leave the *barrio* are a source of both envy and pride to those who stay behind. But those who leave and forget *dónde vivían* are a shame to the community and wouldn't be welcome in Buena Vista, even if they *could* remember. While those who leave the *barrio* are not all *vendidos*, many of the Mexican American residents who could afford to move have not left the neighborhood; they have used their larger incomes to improve their property in the *barrio*, and plan to stay.

13 Those who leave the *barrio* seldom are successful in blending into the larger city, which is controlled by the city's professionals. The city-wide school board, for example, has eight members, only one of whom is Mexican American. Unlike his Anglo counterparts on the board, the Chicano member is not a professional, but a skilled laborer who was backed by a strong coalition of Black and Chicano residents in the recent election. Although historical rivalry between the Black and Chicano communities could have inhibited such a coalition, the two groups overcame past differences to meet common goals. For Blacks, the joint effort was a way of overcoming their status as a numerical minority; since they make up only 13 percent of the total city population, the Black community recognized that they alone could not carry the vote for a Black candidate. By combining with the city's larger number of Mexican American voters, Black leaders were able to assert their views and to be heard by the

Chicano candidate. Mexican American leaders, on the other hand, were willing to forget old differences and listen to the views of Black leaders in exchange for votes for their candidate.

14 The Black–Mexican American coalition was born in early meetings of leaders from the two communities, and then took on grassroots dimensions as people in the north and south sides coalesced behind the Mexican American candidate. The resulting election was a first for the city's minority citizens, and they are looking forward to changes in the schools' policies and operations as a result of the Chicano's election to the board. There is also some talk of continuing the coalition to achieve further representation on other official bodies, such as the City Council.

15 The school board is proud of its educational program, and feels the district is highly innovative. As reflected in its policies and practices, however, the board has failed to deal with issues of racial segregation. Since the board's census data label Mexican Americans as "white," statistics often show a balance between "white" and Black students in individual schools. In reality, however, such schools often have populations of over 90 percent minority students, with large numbers of Chicanos counted as "white."

16 On the other hand, with a high percentage of Chicano students, the district has been involved with several bilingual programs since the early 1970's. These programs were largely sponsored by federal monies through the Emergency School Assistance Act (ESAA) and the Title VII Bilingual provisions of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. In the past, those funds were used to provide classroom materials in Spanish and English versions and staff members such as bilingual aides. In recent years, ESAA funds have decreased in the district, but those lowered funding levels have been offset by increased Title VII funds. The district is anticipating increased levels of state funding for bilingual programs.

17 Before instituting its various bilingual programs, the district employed few Chicano teachers—about 5 percent of the total city-wide faculty. During that period there were no Chicano administrators in the district. Now, however, with the increasing demand for qualified bilingual personnel, the district is hiring more Chicano teachers and administrators. Even so, the highest-ranking Chicano administrator in the district is paid through federal funds; when those funds expire, that administrator, like virtually all the district's other Chicano administrators, will find himself out of a job. Many of the Chicano administrators are actively involved in finding new sources of funds for bilingual programs and getting the local district to contribute

hard-line money to bilingual education. They are pursuing that course both because they feel such programs can effectively address the needs of Chicano children and because they want to continue working. The Chicano school board member says, "As long as the district depends upon outside funds to continue bilingual programs, there is no real commitment to bilingual education. When the federal money is gone, the programs will just fade away, and we'll be back where we started."

18 The residents of Buena Vista do not trust the district's highest-ranking Chicano administrator. One community member who is active in school affairs says, "Martínez has his own interests at heart. He is a *vendido* and is only interested in keeping his job—or getting a better one. He has no support in the community. The one the community supports is Jésus Gómez, whom we elected to the school board. He is our man."

19 Gómez, too, is critical of Martínez and feels that the administrator has sold out. He has openly criticized Martínez at school board meetings, and made many Anglos and Chicanos uncomfortable with his criticisms, which center on the purposes for which bilingual funds are used and the effectiveness of those programs. At a recent board meeting, Martínez was speaking to the board about the need for more administrators in the bilingual program. When he was finished, Gómez said, "You have given many reasons for hiring more administrators. I cannot question your commitment to the bilingual program, but let me ask some questions about the program itself: What will more administrators do for children? What can administrators do with paper that teachers cannot do with children? Why, if we have a shortage of bilingual teachers, should we use funds to hire administrators? I do not see a shortage of administrators in the district—but I do see the need for more bilingual teachers and classroom aides. My vote will be for the teachers and the children—not for more administrators."

20 The Buena Vista community shares Gómez's concerns. A year and a half ago, a group of 200 parents and teachers from Buena Vista appeared at a school board meeting to exert pressure for more minority teachers and additional funds for bilingual education. That group, in fact, produced the community leaders who were instrumental in getting Gómez elected a few months later; Gómez had been among the most articulate and outspoken of the 200. As a result of their appearance before the board, the parents and teachers were assured that additional minority bilingual teachers would be hired and the program would be expanded.

The district subsequently applied for additional federal funds, and the resulting grant was channeled into the bilingual program, which was then reorganized under the leadership of Carlos Martínez, the very administrator who is least trusted by the residents of Buena Vista. In the community, Martínez is often called *Vendido* or *Tío Taco*, sometimes to his face; his colleagues at the district offices, on the other hand, call him "Charles." Martínez in fact does not mind being called "Charles," although he can think of many names which are preferable to *Tío Taco*. He feels that he can make a contribution to his people and at the same time further his own career; he believes that most accomplishments can best be made through quiet working within the system; he has often said that making waves is dangerous—and even a little ripple sometimes can do harm. 21

Community members have been asserting pressure on the school board to hire more minority teachers and the district has been responding, but newly-hired Chicano teachers are consistently placed in schools which have high concentrations of Anglo and Black students. The 27 faculty members at the Elm Street Elementary School are 55 percent Anglo, 20 percent Black, and 25 percent Chicano. In addition to the regular faculty, the school has many personnel who are supported by funds from Title I reading programs and other special federal programs. The Title VII Bilingual Program frequently uses these people as resources; the program also involves the school's several reading teachers, instructional aides, and other support staff. Since there are several federal programs in the school, however, the school personnel tend to identify themselves with insular groups according to the federal program which pays their salary. That pattern has produced rivalry among the programs, with each program's personnel claiming almost exclusive credit for gains which have been made in the school. 22

During the past two years, the district's principals have been given responsibility for the bilingual program in their own schools—largely as an attempt to consolidate federal programs in the *barrio* schools. While many of the principals throughout the city have resisted bilingual program activities, the principal at Elm Street is an advocate for bilingual education. He has close ties with the Buena Vista community, since he grew up there and still lives in the school neighborhood. The principal is also respected in the community, and local parents believe he has the best interests of their children at heart. They are pleased with the job he has done at Elm Street, but have recently become concerned over rumors that he may 23

leave the school to become the superintendent of a small school district in the Southwest.

24 If the principal does leave the school, he will likely be succeeded by his assistant principal, who is a Black man. Several community members have said they respect the assistant principal, but feel he is best suited for that position, rather than the principal's job, since he is neither Mexican American nor bilingual. The teachers are divided on the question; some feel that ethnic background and bilingualism are not crucial to the principal's job, although they recognize the advantage that has given the current principal. Others—primarily the Chicano teachers—feel that a bilingual Mexican American principal is needed to maintain the school's strong bilingual emphasis.

25 The bilingual program is clearly one of the strong points of the Elm Street school. While only five of the school's teachers have Masters' degrees, most of those who work in the bilingual program received their certification and training (as undergraduate Interns or in-service teachers) through earlier Teacher Corps projects in other schools. In fact, many faculty members' past experience with the Teacher Corps was one reason the faculty asked to be the current project's target school. Although the project is not all they had hoped it would be, the teachers see it as an important support system for the bilingual program and an opportunity to receive further training.

26 The teachers' confidence in the Teacher Corps project is also inspired by their confidence in the principal, who they know is a close colleague and *compadre* of the Project Director. One teacher says, "I believe in the principal—I trust him, and I know I can depend upon him for guidance which is in the best interest of the kids. I'd never even heard of the Teacher Corps before this year, but so many of the other teachers were enthusiastic that I got interested. Then, when the principal said he wanted it too, I knew it had to be a good thing. We've got a pretty tight school; the principal chooses his faculty carefully, screening out applicants who wouldn't be comfortable in a child-centered environment like Elm Street's. Every once in a while a teacher transfers out, but that doesn't happen very often, since we all knew what the school would be like before we came here. I've got a lot of respect for the principal; he came up the hard way. I think most of the other teachers feel the way I do about him."

27 Elm Street's student population is 63 percent Spanish-speaking and 37 percent English monolingual. (It is not uncommon for Mexican American children to speak little or no Spanish.) The Spanish-

speaking children are classified on the basis of language dominance for instructional purposes. Within that classification, they are then grouped in courses such as reading, language arts, math, and science according to their skills and past achievement. The English monolingual kindergarten classroom at Elm Street is a relatively new, open area converted from three regular classrooms into a single open area; the principal convinced the district to invest in the school remodeling. This classroom is arranged in learning centers, and the three teachers work in those centers with individuals, small groups, or large groups. The teachers are efficient, highly organized, and appear to enjoy team teaching.

28 The bilingual kindergarten, on the other hand, is a self-contained classroom. It is also organized in learning centers and is child-oriented, although there are structured time periods for reading, math, and science, all of which are taught in Spanish. The children choose activities for art, music, and social science from among several options. The teacher in this classroom is an Anglo, but fluent in Spanish; she is assigned one bilingual aide, who is from the school community.

29 The other classrooms at Elm Street—grades one through five—are essentially self-contained, but the children do move to other rooms for language development and reading classes. Children in those classes are grouped according to their language dominance, and taught in their first language. The reading and language development classes assess the individual child's particular weak areas, and each of the Teacher Corps Interns is responsible for working with a small group of students in these classes.

30 All seven of the school's bilingual Mexican American teachers work in the bilingual program, as do nine Anglo teachers (three of whom are bilingual) and three Black teachers (one of whom is bilingual). Each of the monolingual teachers in the program is assigned a part- or full-time bilingual aide. If there were more bilingual teachers available, they would replace the monolingual teachers in the bilingual program.

31 Like the school's principal and teachers, the Buena Vista community is largely supportive of the bilingual program. In a recent poll of the community, 70 percent of the residents indicated that they felt they understood the program; 90 percent said they approved of it. That community support is owing to many factors. First, the local parents have on many occasions expressed confidence in the principal and teachers; because they trust the principal in particular, his advocacy of the bilingual program generated nearly

automatic support in the community. Second, the bilingual program—again, primarily through the principal—has taken great pains to keep the parents and community informed of the program's design, activities, and results. Finally, information on school activities is provided to the community in both English and Spanish. Such school publications have also consistently told community members that they are welcome to visit the school without personal invitations, and community members—particularly parents—often do visit Elm Street, both for special activities and to talk with teachers. Many community members also serve as bilingual aides in the school and as unpaid volunteers for both regular and special activities.

32 Those aides and volunteers have been very helpful to the school's program—especially in helping the monolingual Anglo teachers understand the Mexican American culture. In fact, one of the teachers, Mrs. Rivers, says she probably would not have lasted a week in Buena Vista without the help of her aide, Mrs. Rios. Mrs. Rivers, who had taught for several years in all-white schools in the district, began her first year at Elm Street the same way she had begun at other schools. On the very first day of school, the teacher looked around her fourth grade classroom and saw that her English-speaking students were Black, Chicano, and Anglo. That pleased her; she was anxious to work with children from different backgrounds.

33 After calling the class to order, Mrs. Rivers introduced herself and told the class a little bit about her teaching experience and personal interests. She then introduced Mrs. Rios and asked her to tell the class something about hereself. Mrs. Rios seemed reluctant, but did say a few words about herself in a quiet voice.

34 "Now," Mrs. Rivers said, addressing the class, "It's your turn. Who would like to tell the class about themselves?"

35 The class was silent. No one raised a hand. Mrs. Rivers waited patiently until one of the Anglo children volunteered to speak. "Yes," said Mrs. Rivers, pointing to the little girl, "Go ahead."

36 The girl stood. "My name is Patty Ryan. My favorite things are school, my pet rabbit, and going to the circus. My rabbit's name is Jo-Jo, and I've had her for two years."

37 After Pat, several other children volunteered and told a little bit about themselves. But Mrs. Rivers noticed that none of the Mexican American children volunteered. In fact, they were looking away from the teacher and didn't seem to be paying attention. Throughout her teaching career, Mrs. Rivers had made it a point to avoid putting

pressure on her students. She had seldom insisted that they participate in activities they disliked, and had always provided optional activities. But she had never encountered children who didn't want to introduce themselves on the first day of class.

"Well," she said, "We've had nice introductions from half of the class. How about some more?" The class was silent, and the Mexican American children looked away. "Class," Mrs. Rivers said, "Please look at me." The Anglo and Black children complied. The Mexican American children did not. The teacher looked at Mrs. Rios, hoping to find a clue in her face, but didn't succeed. 38

"Very well," Mrs. Rivers said, "We don't all have to introduce ourselves right now. We can finish later." Turning to a stack of workbooks on her desk, she said, "Let's spend the rest of the time before recess getting started with our first science unit." 39

Later, when the class was on the playground for recess, Mrs. Rivers sat down to talk with Mrs. Rios. "Mrs. Rios," she said, "This is my first day at Elm Street. How long have you been here?" 40

"You mean as a volunteer in the school?" 41

"Yes." 42

"This is my second year." 43

"Can you tell me, then, why some of the children wouldn't introduce themselves? I've been doing that exercise for years; it usually starts slowly—nobody wants to be first—but once someone gets up, the others follow, and they seem to enjoy it. Didn't you think the ones who volunteered today liked the attention they got from the two of us and the class?" 44

"Yes, the Anglo and Black children did enjoy it. But the others—the Mexican American children—didn't want to do it. They wouldn't have enjoyed it. I'm glad you didn't force them. That would have made them very unhappy and embarrassed." 45

"But why? All the other children had done it. They weren't unhappy or embarrassed. And why wouldn't they look at me when I asked them to? I don't think they were trying to be defiant, but they were certainly disrespectful." 46

"No, they weren't disrespectful. Our culture is different in many ways from yours. In our culture, it is disrespectful when a child does look directly into the eyes of an elder—especially a parent or family member or a teacher. They were showing respect when they looked away from your eyes." 47

Mrs. Rivers nodded her head. "Oh. I had no idea. I've never taught Mexican American children before." The teacher paused. "Tell me, why would the opening exercise embarrass the children? 48

The others had done it, too."

49 "Because," Mrs. Rios answered, "When a Mexican American child is singled out like that, it is just like punishment. In our culture it is best not to be singled out—even for praise. That is embarrassing and we feel we're being reprimanded when we're singled out. Humility is a virtue in our culture, and we emphasize that virtue. Introducing ourselves in front of the class wouldn't show humility."

50 "Well," Mrs. Rivers answered, "I can't say I completely understand. But I think I can in time. I'm beginning to get the picture. I hope you don't mind me asking you these questions."

51 "No, I don't mind. As long as you ask me like this—just the two of us in a quiet place—I'll try my best to explain things. But I'm like the children. I wouldn't want to talk like this in front of the class."

52 "Well," Mrs. Rivers responded, "I appreciate your help. I guess I'll be asking lots of questions. Tell me, how can I get the Chicano children to introduce themselves without offending or embarrassing them? Do you have any ideas?"

53 "Yes. First, though, remember, they won't want to introduce themselves." Mrs. Rios went on to suggest that Mrs. Rivers ask the children to introduce each other; that way, she said, they wouldn't feel embarrassed at being singled out to talk about themselves.

54 When the class got back together, Mrs. Rivers stepped in front of her desk and spoke. "Class," she said, "this morning we began with introductions and several people had a chance to talk a little about themselves. Now we're going to do something like that, but we're going to do it in a completely different way. After we finish this exercise, we'll compare what we learned from the two different ways of introducing ourselves. I'd like each person to choose a friend for a partner. Then you can pull your desks together."

55 As the class chose friends and followed the teacher's instructions, she was surprised to notice that many of the children chose partners from different ethnic groups. When the class had quieted down, Mrs. Rivers said, "Now, here's what we're going to do. Everybody tell your partner about some of the things you like and some of the things you like to do. Tell each other something about yourself. Would you do that now, please?"

56 Suddenly the classroom got busy. The pairs of children began talking animatedly to each other. After a few minutes, Mrs. Rivers called the class to order. "Now we're going to do introductions again. But this time, we're not going to introduce ourselves. Each of you will introduce your partner. While you were talking to each other, Mrs. Rios and I were getting to know each other better, too.

We'll go first, and then it'll be your turn." Mrs. Rivers turned to Mrs. Rios and asked, "Do you want to go first, Mrs. Rios, or shall I?"

Mrs. Rios said she would be first and began, "Our teacher's name 57
is Mrs. Rivers and she was born in a small town far from Buena Vista. Her mother and grandmother were both teachers, and that is one reason she decided to become a teacher. Another reason she decided to become a teacher is that she likes children very much and likes to be with them. Her husband is a high school teacher. She has two cats named Jekyll and Hyde. I can tell Mrs. Rivers is glad to be here; she says she hopes we have a fun year together."

Next, Mrs. Rivers introduced Mrs. Rios. "Our aide's name is Mrs. 58
Rios, and she's been a volunteer at Elm Street for one year. She was born in Buena Vista, and has lived here all her life. Mrs. Rios has three children—Miguel, Ernesto, and Anna; they all go to high school now. Her husband is a cook at the Cafe El Coyote. She became an aide because she enjoys being with children. Mrs. Rios says she learned a lot from being here last year and knows she'll learn more this year."

Mrs. Rivers finished her introduction and a bit nervously asked 59
the class, "Would someone like to go next?"

To her surprise, a Mexican American child volunteered to begin 60
the introductions by telling about his partner. Several other children waved their hands when he was finished. There were very few pauses between introductions, and the class quickly finished the activity. They frequently laughed and giggled about bits of information their friends had chosen to share with the class.

When they were finished, Mrs. Rivers said, "That was good! 61
Everyone did very well. I enjoyed every single introduction, and I think I learned more about each of you when your friends did the introductions than when we tried the first time. Now, what did *you* learn? Let's talk for a little while about how we can learn from each other."

During the subsequent discussion, Mrs. Rivers repeatedly made 62
the point—often assisted by the children's observations—that the class had learned from each other. She also noted that there are many ways to communicate and said she hoped that the class had been a good beginning for everybody.

The approach which Mrs. Rivers took to solving her problem was 63
consistent with the school's attempts to treat its students as people whose opinions and support are important to the school program. The principal says, "We have tried to create a humane, child-centered environment here. I have encouraged teachers to interact as

people, rather than as authorities, with the children, and the teachers have responded. There is a great deal of informal interaction between students and teachers, especially in the bilingual classrooms, where children feel free to speak in Spanish. I've encouraged the bilingual teachers especially to listen to the children's ideas and feelings and to support the children. From my observations—I try to visit each classroom at least twice a month—the children in the bilingual classes seem to feel more free to talk and to ask questions. Those classes use the learning center approach more often than the others, although we have encouraged children to engage in self-directed activities throughout the school. All the same, I have to admit that the non-bilingual class teachers focus more attention on themselves and learning tasks than the bilingual class teachers do."

64 That is the school the Teacher Corps Interns and Team Leader entered: a school which is mutually supportive with its students and community; a school with a clearly thought-out and effective bilingual education program; a school with many federal projects. But it is a school which is nonetheless confronted with many of the problems which its students and their families must face every day of their lives: poverty; poor housing; few social services; and cultural and linguistic differences with the larger community and, to some extent, with the school itself. The Interns first saw Elm Street Elementary during the three weeks which they spent in Buena Vista before going to the Corpsmember Training Institute. They were too busy during that time, however, to see much of the school. Instead, they spent their three weeks in a series of university courses and workshops. Those workshops provided the Interns with an intense orientation to the local project and its experience and accomplishments during earlier cycles in other schools. There were also workshops giving an overview of bilingual education and communication and observation skills.

65 In their orientation, the Interns learned that the Teacher Corps project was designed to meet the need for more bilingual teachers in the city and, additionally, to develop a bilingual teacher training program which would become a part of regular university teacher education coursework. Achieving the latter goal, it was hoped, would attract prospective Chicano teachers to the university's teacher education program. The university also expressed an interest in testing the Teacher Corps approach to preparing teachers for multi-cultural school settings and refining the Competency-Based Teacher Education components of the project. The school, on the other hand, was most interested in working with university person-

nel to bridge the gap between the training of new teachers and the continuing training of teachers who were already in the school. The principal in particular was interested in benefits which the project might afford to his teachers; he wanted to give them an opportunity to upgrade their skills and to increase some teachers' sensitivities to the school's children.

Additionally, the project hoped to involve parents in special activities, such as mini-courses or enrichment activities in arts and crafts, sewing, auto mechanics, photography, and recreation. Since school attendance is poor on Fridays at Elm Street, the project planned to offer these special activities on Fridays for both parents and children. In addition to attracting truant children with interesting and unconventional activities, it was hoped that parental involvement in the activities would serve to enforce attendance rules. That program was to be one of the major emphases of the project's community component. 66

The Teacher Corps project was designed as a collaborative effort. Questions of concern were to be referred to an advisory committee and an implementation committee (the former to function as a goal-setting and approval group, and the latter to manage daily operations). Other committees were also to be established as the need arose for attention to specific problems and activities. These committees have functioned with varying degrees of success and effectiveness under the leadership of the Project Director, Enrique Cruz. The director is older and wiser than most of his collaborators, and projects a grandfather image. He delegates many project tasks to committees and staff members, but is conscientious in overseeing work in the project to ensure that tasks are accomplished. The staff appreciates the advice and assistance of the director, but some individuals occasionally joke about "*El Patrón*." 67

The Interns learned respect and admiration for the director when they first met him. Now, a year later, they frequently go directly to him to satisfy many of their needs. The Interns—Juan, Steve, Celia, and Martha—in fact frequently bypass the Team Leader, a Chicana, and ask Cruz, *El Patrón*, when they want such favors as time off or changes in university course schedules. Vera, the Team Leader, says, "Sometimes I feel the Interns don't understand that I am a member of their team. I'm their leader, in fact. They should come to me first, rather than going straight to the director. But, when they do come to me, it's usually for mundane things they really don't need me for—things like, 'Could you pick up a book for me at the university bookstore?' They're adults; why can't they do things like that for 68

themselves? Why can't they understand the structure, the chain of command—why can't they raise problems with me first, before going to Enrique?"

69 While the Team Leader is a member of the Teacher Corps team and supervises the Interns, she also has responsibility to the teachers already in the school. But they, too, sometimes bypass her and go directly to the Project Director for academic and career counseling. The teachers know that the director has many friends at the university and in the school district, and he is their *patrón*, too. He has often been helpful in seeing that exceptions are made in the university's graduate admissions procedures and in certification requirements. Placement of student teachers in the school has been arranged through his advice, and he has also put in a good word when promotional recommendations were needed.

70 While the Team Leader would like to be consulted more often by the Interns and teachers, she also finds herself deluged with work. She is directly responsible for the Interns' progress and works closely with the Program Development Specialist to design and implement the in-service component. The Team Leader assists the Program Development Specialist in scheduling the in-service training and attends all in-service sessions, either to introduce consultants and serve as a hostess, or to actually conduct sessions. Before the Teacher Corps project, the principal looked to Vera when he needed someone to conduct staff development activities for the school. It was therefore natural for her to assume the school responsibility for the in-service component.

71 She also works with the Community Coordinator to plan and supervise the Interns' community experiences. Finally, and perhaps most overwhelming, she tries to respond to the needs and requests of the school's cooperating teachers and principal. These multiple duties have placed the Team Leader in the middle of almost everything that happens in the project and the school—whether it is big or small, real or imaginary, professional or personal. She feels she must be responsive to the school staff while being equally supportive of the Interns and, finally, true to her own beliefs and needs.

72 The Team Leader saw the CMTI as a good experience for both the Interns and herself. She says, "I think the CMTI was instrumental in helping the Interns understand the school as a very complex organization. At the same time, it gave us all a chance to get acquainted and to understand each other's strengths and weaknesses. And I learned a lot about my job—what it is and how to do it. For example, I decided to cut way down on the time I spend in the teachers' lounge

this year—I used to spend all my free time there when I was a regular teacher, but I'm afraid that if the other teachers see me there too much now they'll think I'm not doing my job."

73 In the lounge, meanwhile, one of the teachers says, "I think Vera's okay as a Team Leader. I've known her for a long time and I always thought she was a good teacher. I'm glad she was chosen as the Team Leader, but things have changed a little since she came back from that place in Florida—the QXRZ or whatever it was. She doesn't come around the faculty lounge much anymore and seems a little stuck-up, even. She used to spend more time with us, but now I'm wondering if her other interests are more important than her old friends. The funny thing is that her job is sort of mysterious to me. I know she's very busy, but I just don't know what it is she's supposed to do besides schedule the Interns and help out on the in-service program."

74 The Teacher Corps Project Director, on the other hand, is often in the teachers' lounge, and the Program Development Specialist is too. Since the lounge is the center of social activity for teachers in the school and is convenient to the school's Teacher Corps office, Cruz and his PDS make it a point to drop in frequently to check on the current scuttlebutt. There is some "school talk" in the lounge, but it is mostly a place to share recipes, family events, and friendly banter. On occasion, the woman the principal calls the "Dean of Teachers" takes the lead in lounge discussions of the school and its various programs. She is a monolingual Anglo, but a solid supporter of the Teacher Corps project. She says, "I've been here for ten years, and I've made many friends, among both teachers and community members—and now on the Teacher Corps staff. I've seen our problems come and go, too—and some of them stay. One of our biggest problems, of course, has been language differences—especially for those of us who don't speak Spanish. But the Teacher Corps has made some real contributions, and the bilingual Interns do well with the kids in my class. Why, I'm tempted to take a Spanish course. Imagine, after all these years!"

75 Although this teacher is not officially designated the "Dean of Teachers"—there is no such actual position at Elm Street—the principal's habit of calling her by that title has caused other teachers to follow his lead. Juan, one of the more egalitarian and activist Interns in the project, once asked another teacher whether some of the lady's colleagues might resent the principal's singling her out for praise and attention. "Resentful," the teacher asked, "Why should any of us resent that? She's been here a long time and she's done a good job. I

remember when I first came here, she helped me out a lot, sort of showing me the ropes. Sure, she's a *gringa*, but so what? She cares about the children, and that's all that counts at Elm Street. We all like her, and she deserves to be called the 'Dean of Teachers.' "

76 Celia, one of the Interns, feels the same way, and is rewarded with mutual admiration. If fact, Celia is well liked by the other teachers and the Interns, and has had little trouble fitting into the school. The other three Interns seldom go to faculty meetings at the school, usually excusing themselves by noting their busy schedules with university coursework, community activities, and observations and other tasks in the classroom. Celia, on the other hand, has told the Team Leader, "I just don't think the other Interns realize their full responsibilities. I would think they would do as much as they could to fit into the school, even if they think they're too busy for faculty meetings. They need to stop thinking of just their survival today. I don't know about them, but I'd like to be at Elm Street for a while."

77 Meanwhile, in her classroom observations, Celia has encountered many high points—and a few lows. She began the year observing in a bilingual classroom, and was impressed with the atmosphere the teacher had established there. The teacher, of course, spoke to the children in Spanish much of the time, but she frequently switched into English. She also encouraged the children to speak in both Spanish and English to each other, since she felt the students could learn in either language—as long as they also spoke in English when they were learning the new language.

78 In a conversation with the bilingual teacher, Celia said, "I'm surprised there is so much Spanish and Spanglish in your class. I knew you'd let the kids speak Spanish some, but I'm surprised they use it so much. Are they really learning English too?"

79 The teacher answered, "Yes, surprisingly enough, they are. I think they resist English less if I don't force them to speak it; they're learning the beauty of their own language while they also learn a new one—and it makes them feel special to know two languages. But just as important, they're learning math, science, reading—the whole bit—in both languages. I'm really proud of *mis niños*."

80 Celia believed the bilingual teacher. She had often seen the teacher touching the children and heard her talking with them about their families and Latino holidays. Her bulletin boards and other materials were often in both Spanish and English, and showed pictures of Chicanos and Latino culture. During one of their social studies units, the children had taken a field trip into the community

and had later made a large three-dimensional map featuring many of Buena Vista's shops and offices.

Through her experience in the bilingual classroom, Celia had become a believer in the bilingual approach. But she also wanted to spend some time in a monolingual classroom, and asked Vera for an assignment to a monolingual teacher. Vera agreed that the Interns should have many different experiences in the school, and arranged for Celia to observe a monolingual classroom in which an Anglo student teacher was also working. 81

Celia was pleased by the assignment Vera gave her. She had specifically requested an assignment to a monolingual teacher who she knew was highly regarded in the school and generally enjoyed a great deal of success with her students. In the lounge, she had heard some of the Anglo teachers asking the teacher for advice on how to work with children whose second language was English. As she listened to the teacher's answers, Celia had been impressed by the concern that she showed for the children and their needs. She had heard the teacher talk about visits she had made to the community—although she confessed that she usually went to community events only when the children especially invited her. Overhearing that conversation had led Celia to request some time in that teacher's classroom. 82

Celia visited the monolingual class the next week. The teacher first explained to Celia that the student teacher was now almost completely in charge of the class, but said, "Don't let that make you think that what you see isn't good. I've trained him just as I was trained, and added all I've learned through experience these last four years at Elm Street. Watching the student teacher is just like watching me. He's good, and I'm proud of him." 83

Celia watched. Celia was surprised. Celia sighed. Celia cringed. Celia couldn't believe what she was seeing in the monolingual class. The student teacher absolutely forbade the children to speak in Spanish, but they often sneaked in a few words of Spanish as they spoke to each other. Since she was bilingual, Celia understood from the children's talk that they were using Spanish sometimes when they wanted to talk about the student teacher or to keep something from him. At other times, however, they were using Spanish to talk about their families and friends. Whenever he heard the unfamiliar language, the student teacher reprimanded the children and told them they were in an English classroom. 84

At other times, the student teacher spent a great deal of effort in keeping the children in order, asking them to be quiet, and seeing 85

that they were doing their assignments. The children who spoke only English were the student teacher's pets, it seemed to Celia. They were the ones he asked to erase the chalkboard or to run errands, while those who avoided the teacher's eyes or spoke among themselves in Spanish were not allowed to leave their seats. And, although the student teacher placed a lot of emphasis on the work which was to be done, many of the students didn't seem to be listening, responding—or learning.

86 Celia was surprised by what she saw in the monolingual classroom. She was confused. The supervising teacher was obviously pleased with the way the student teacher was running the class, but Celia saw the contrast between the monolingual approach and the bilingual classrooms she had observed—and she was discouraged. She decided to talk to Vera, the Team Leader.

87 "Vera," Celia said, "I just don't understand. I thought classes like that were a thing of the past. I had expected that classroom to be different—but not that different. I still believe that teacher is a good teacher, but she said she does just what I saw the student teacher doing. I couldn't believe it!"

88 "Would you like to stay in the monolingual room longer? Maybe things would be different on another day," Vera asked.

89 "Oh, I don't know. I'm so discouraged. I think I'd hate to go back," Celia answered.

90 "Well," Vera replied, "Maybe we could work something out. That teacher has been asking about the bilingual program. Maybe she's ready to try some other things. I could talk to her and ask if you could work with a small group of children—three or maybe four—using the bilingual approach in her classroom. I don't think she'd mind, and she wouldn't be insulted, since it was the student teacher and not her you were observing. You want to try it?"

91 Celia hesitated, but decided to give it a go. "Okay," she said, "Will you talk to the teacher?"

92 "Sure," Vera answered.

93 The next day, Celia reported to the monolingual classroom. The teacher told her that Vera and she had made arrangements for Celia to work in Spanish and English with four of the children and that—if Celia didn't mind—the teacher would like to observe the group from time to time to see how it was going. Celia said that sounded like a good idea and went to work with her small group.

94 The experiment was a success, and Celia and the supervising teacher learned a lot from each other. Later, the teacher told some of her colleagues in the lounge, "Celia is the most responsible Intern.

She is warm, intelligent, and relates well with the children and teachers. She's a natural leader, and I think the Interns need a leader. But the Interns don't seem to want a leader."

No, the Interns don't seem to want a leader. They feel that their individuality is more important to their growth than having a leader among themselves. Celia says, "Steve, *se crea tan macho*, but he follows Juan. But Juan is always playing little games, talking about how the director and the Team Leader should consult us more before they decide what we have to do. He wants to have a say in *everything*—even the piddling little things. Heck, if Interns or committees were supposed to operate the project, we wouldn't need a director. Juan doesn't realize what a big job it is for Enrique to deal with all kinds of people all up and down the line. Juan wants the glory, but he doesn't want to put out the work!" 95

Juan has his own views. He worked in a migrant social service program before becoming an Intern, and has been active in *La Causa* for many years. He feels that he cannot cut his ties to *La Causa* just because he is training at Elm Street. Thus, he is often too involved in community work to get totally involved with project activities. Like Celia, he is a natural leader and well liked, but Juan has resisted the responsibilities of leadership among the Interns in favor of continuing his former role in the community. 96

Celia is too busy and concerned with becoming a good teacher to be bothered with âssuming the leadership role. Martha, the third Intern, uses most of her persuasive powers to gain freedom for herself, and uses that freedom to grow as an individual. Steve, meanwhile, usually follows Juan's lead; he is by nature a quiet person, and has no desire to be the Interns' leader. 97

Vera, of course, considers herself the Interns' leader, although she takes pains to point out that she is not an Intern, but an experienced teacher and thus has special skills which she brings to the team. On many issues, however, she must get clearance from the director before offering the Interns alternatives in their program. That has made both Vera and the Interns question the Team Leader's place in the project. For example, the Interns raised the issue of their work schedules early in the school year. They felt that the requirement that they be in the school four days a week from eight in the morning until closing at three-thirty was unfair, since they also were involved with university coursework and spent one-fifth of their time during the week on community activities. Before approaching the Team Leader about their concerns, however, the Interns spent a great deal of time talking among themselves about the schedule. The 98

first complaints among the Interns had been raised at Lupita's Restaurant, a local gathering place where the Interns—particularly Juan and Steve—spend much of their free time. That conversation was followed by other talks among the Interns in their apartments and over the phone. Finally, the Interns decided to approach Vera to see where she stood on the issue. Rather than raise the question directly, however, they decided to feel Vera out by asking her how she saw her role.

99 Because Vera didn't know what was behind the Interns' question, she answered uneasily: "I thought you understood my role. I supervise your work in the school and coordinate the in-service component. And I'm a liaison with the director and the university component. I also work with the Community Coordinator to plan your community activities. But you know that. Why are you asking again?"

100 Juan spoke up, "Well, yes, you've explained that to us. But what we're wondering is, what is your role on the team? Will you speak up for us to Enrique or the principal if we want you to? Will you take our side?"

101 "Well, that depends," Vera answered. "It depends on what the problem is and how I feel about it. I can't just guarantee that I'll back you up on anything. I will go to Enrique, but I can't necessarily back you up every time. It depends on the issue."

102 "Why can't you back us up every time?" Juan asked, "You're our Team Leader."

103 "Because," Vera answered, "I have my own principles and values. It wouldn't be honest if I told you I would back you up on every issue for the next two years."

104 The Interns then explained that they felt over-burdened with their schedule at the school. Vera agreed that the schedule was perhaps too demanding, considering the Interns' many other responsibilities, and agreed to go to the director to speak in the Interns' behalf. In the meantime, however, the Interns were uneasy about Vera's reaction to their questions and went to Enrique themselves. In the end, the Interns were given the option of going to the school for either the morning or the afternoon. Later, Steve said, "We were successful in getting the change, but it wasn't Vera who got the change made. We had to speak for ourselves to Enrique. We still don't know what she told Enrique. We're the ones who got the change made."

105 Vera, too, is uncomfortable with her relationship with the Interns. "I have really tried to develop rapport with them," she says,

"But sometimes they ask the impossible—how could I say I would support them no matter what? I know they think I'm not the best supervisor they could have, but they're not perfect, either. Sometimes they're too dependent."

One day during the project's second semester, one of the Interns asked Vera, "Where is my class supposed to meet Monday?" 106

Vera answered, "It's in the course schedule." 107

The Intern then picked up the directory and gave it to Vera, saying, "Here, look it up for me." 108

Vera was flabbergasted. She replied, "Look it up yourself! You're an adult." 109

Reflecting on the incident, Vera says, "It's times like that when I ask myself, 'What have I done? What am I doing?' It's against my principles to wait on people." 110

On the other hand, the Community Coordinator and the Interns have formed a close, mutually supportive relationship. That has developed over the first year of the project, and resulted in large part from what the Interns perceived as a lack of support for the Community Coordinator from the Project Director. Linda Fernández, the Community Coordinator, had problems during the first part of the year, particularly with involving the school's parents as instructors in the special mini-courses scheduled for Fridays. This project was Linda's first experience with such duties, and she felt unsure of her responsibilities and how to go about beginning her work. As a result, she waited for guidance from Cruz, the Project Director. Cruz, on the other hand, felt that Linda had the potential to develop a good community component but became impatient with her lack of initiative. 111

One day in the faculty lounge, Cruz was talking with some of the teachers who were wondering about the progress of the community component. Offhandedly, Cruz remarked, "Well, I'm discouraged, too. I had thought that Linda could handle the job—that she could learn quickly and get the mini-courses going sooner than this. But, to tell you the truth, I'm beginning to wonder if I maybe should have gotten someone for the job who was more experienced in organization skills and community dynamics. And I'm not sure it's too late, even now." 112

Gossip being what it is, it was not long before Linda heard about the director's remarks. Finally realizing that she was expected to take the initiative in the community component, Linda went to the Team Leader to ask for help. Vera was sympathetic, but explained that she was already feeling overworked. 113

It was not long before Vera told the director about Linda's prob- 114

lem. By that time, the director—who was embarrassed that word had traveled to Linda—had just about decided to replace Linda with another person who had less grassroots experience, but who was more experienced in community dynamics and organization. Word travels fast in Buena Vista, and the Interns soon asked to meet the director to voice their support for Linda.

115 Celia began, "We feel that Linda has been doing the best job she could under the circumstances. She has helped us learn a lot about Buena Vista, and introduced us to many people in the community. We feel she understands the people here—after all, she's one of them. She can give us what we want—what we need—better than any of those university people can. We want her to stay; we can help her. If it's just the mini-courses that're bothering you, we'll help get those organized."

116 Juan asked, "Who is really responsible for the weaknesses in the community component? Linda is doing her best. If she has some blind spots, why wasn't she given more training to fill in the gaps? Why doesn't Vera help out more with the community component? After all, she should have a role in the mini-courses, since they involve the other teachers too. Why can't she help out? Like Celia, I'm willing to help out with the mini-courses, but before I agree to do it, I want to know just what the Interns' role is in the community component—when are we supposed to stop learning about the community and start *doing* something?"

117 The director answered the Interns' questions patiently and agreed that perhaps it would be possible to provide Linda with more guidance. Since the Interns were willing to devote some of their community time to the mini-courses, Cruz agreed to let them begin what Juan called "real community work." Cruz said, "Okay, I'll keep Linda, but I'm counting on the four of you to help pull this thing off. I wouldn't usually reverse myself on an issue like this, but, like you, I am committed to grassroots involvement. But I've got to see results too—you know there are people I must report to also."

118 Yes, it was unusual for Cruz to reverse himself. Because he is both competent and confident—and because he is the Project Director—Cruz has a strong say in the project's operation. Although he is assisted in his duties by several committees, most often the director uses those committees to secure approval for project directions which he has predetermined. The director does not have a vote at committee meetings and is not officially a member of the advisory and implementation committees, but he does often chair their meetings. Most often, he opens committee meetings with a progress

report on project activities; he then describes strategies for meeting project objectives in the near future. Finally, he asks the committees for their approval of his strategies, which he has most often developed through his own expertise and experience with earlier Teacher Corps projects.

At some times, however, he consults other staff members when 119
formulating plans and strategies. Before taking the new or revised strategies to committee, the director often consults with individual staff members who are most affected by the new directions. These strategies are seldom discussed with the project staff, but on occasion some new directions are formulated by the total staff. Since Cruz can cite staff members' concurrence with new directions—and since committee members respect the director's judgment—the committees approve "*El Jefe's*" recommendations on virtually all issues.

Over the course of their first year in Buena Vista, the Interns have 120
come to understand the necessity of having a Project Director who operates as "*El Jefe*" does. They understand that the director's requirements are common to all Teacher Corps projects, and know they help projects to reach their goals and the goals of the national program. The Interns have enjoyed their first year, and are looking forward to their coming experience. While some of the Interns will probably say "*Hasta la vista*, Buena Vista" after their second year, others will stay—and they will all remember their two years in a community they have come to call home.

5
SMOKE CITY

AN INNER-CITY COMMUNITY

I am the smoke king,
I am black.
I am swinging in the sky,
I am ringing worlds on high:
I am the thought of the throbbing mills,
I am the soul toil kills,
I am the ripple of trading rills.

. . . . . .

I am darkening with song,
I am hearkening to wrong;
I will be black as blackness can,
The blacker the mantle the mightier the man,
My purpling midnights no day dawn may ban.

—W. E. B. Du Bois
"The Song of the Smoke"

When the four Teacher Corps Interns first saw Smoke City, they saw a community with a long history of the poverty, unemployment, and educational problems which have been a part of the inner-city experience. But they also saw hope. Smoke City had experienced the decay, the promise, the sense of futility, and the struggle for self-determination which many Black communities have faced. But in recent years, Smoke City had begun to achieve some control over its own destiny. Over the next year, the Interns would see evidence of many recent changes. 1

Smoke City is an older inner-city area of a large city in the Midwest. The larger city is highly industrial, but the inner-city is largely residential, with some light industry and some retail outlets. For the past several years it has been undergoing extensive urban redevelopment, and many new low-rent apartments have become available for its residents. There are also many new high-rise apartments for senior citizens, and some renovated townhouses where the community's growing middle class lives. Smoke City is bordered by an area which has recently been redeveloped; there are a community college and several government and office buildings in that section. 2

Smoke City is slightly over 80 percent Black; the remaining community members are largely of Slav and Polish descent, and live in "Little Poland" on the fringes of Smoke City. Most of the residents work outside of their community. 3

There is a large and well-respected university within the geographical boundaries of the community. The university's medical center offers a few health-care services to residents. The center is a minor source of income for Smoke City residents—but only the menial hospital jobs are offered to the center's neighbors. Smoke City High School students have also had difficulty in finding work-study positions at the hospital, and teenage unemployment is extremely high. 4

5 However, the existence of a major and well-known business school at the university motivated a significant undertaking at the high school: it is the local district's city-wide business careers school. Unfortunately, the hoped-for collaboration between the university business school and Smoke City High has not panned out.

6 While this university is not the host of the Smoke City Teacher Corps project, it is a member of the physical community, and its administrators have had some involvement in the project; the president of the university and the hospital administrator serve on the project's Executive Council, and appear to be sensitive to the needs of the surrounding community. Unfortunately, those at other levels in the virtually all-white university have not responded to community needs and concerns. The involvement of high-level administrators in the project--and, to some extent, in the community--seems to have had little effect on university policies, many of which have had major impact on Smoke City and its residents.

7 For example, a housing complex was built across from the high school recently, with the understanding that the housing would be open to community residents. Instead, it became a fenced-in residence for the hospital's interns who, like the vast majority of other university students in the community, are white.

8 As the university continues to expand, it has easily secured greater portions of land in the community for its new buildings, despite some community resistance to the expansion plans. Less than ten years ago, when the high school was about to be built, the university attempted to secure the building site for its own expansion, but the community won the ensuing struggle, and the high school was built. Since that time, the university has been more successful in its continuing expansion; the expansion is not accompanied by any material, economic, or service benefits to the community.

9 The university complex covers over 50 acres in the community, which occupies about three square miles. Smoke City overlaps two city council districts, one of which has a majority of white residents and is represented by a white councilman. The high school is located in that district near the boundary of the second district, which encompasses the rest of Smoke City, and is all Black; its city council representative is also Black. The state legislative district for Smoke City is all Black and does include the immediate high school neighborhood; the state legislator is a local Black woman.

10 Smoke City High School has 2,004 students; of those, 1,997 are Black; the other seven are Puerto Rican and Asian. Since the high

school has been recently designated a city-wide school to prepare students for business careers, it can now draw students from throughout the larger city. At the present, however, its students are drawn only from within the Smoke City boundaries.

11 Smoke City High would be the Interns' home for two years, and they wondered what life would be like there. One of their first activities was a visit to the school and a long talk with the principal. In her briefing, the principal said that Smoke City's students were largely from the Southeast and East, but had rapidly become acculturated to city life in the Midwest. Because they were high school students, she said, they were not quite children and not quite adults; however, she emphasized that many of the students held jobs in the community, and they were frequently parents and spouses. Some of the students, she said, take their child or children to a day-care center before reporting to class.

12 Those realities, the principal said, dictated the school's orientation toward meeting the community's unique needs—particularly the needs of the community's students. The principal, a Black woman from Smoke City, told the Interns there is no such thing as a student who fails. When students do not perform up to par, she said, they are "recycled" through their classes; they have not failed, and simply are given another shot at success. She feels it is the teachers' responsibility to teach their students appropriate attitudes and behavior, and has little patience for teachers who cannot serve as proper models. She pointed out that the faculty, which is 60 percent Black and 40 percent white, has a relatively low turnover rate. Teachers who have left, she said, have done so because they couldn't adjust to the school's student-centered environment. The teachers who stay are the ones who are truly committed to students and the environment she has attempted to create.

13 After their briefing by the principal, the four Interns were given a tour of the school by the Chairwoman of the Gudiance Department, who had also lived in Smoke City for most of her life. The school, which is now less than ten years old, is built around an open plaza area in which students gather during the spring and fall. During the winter a snow sculpture contest is held in the plaza. The school is very modern, a combination of a community school and the open-space concept. Many community service agencies are housed in the school; these include juvenile, parole, and probation offices, as well as a cultural arts center, various youth services programs, a legal aid service, and several other agencies which address adult community members' needs.

14 The Guidance Department Chairwoman told the Interns she had been with the principal for many years; they had previously worked as colleagues in other schools in the community, and both belonged to a community group which was very much involved in school policies and programs. "I guess you could call us the school board's conscience," she said. "We've proven that people can have a say in their future—if they just talk loud enough. A whisper in the right ears sometimes doesn't hurt, either. We're not really an organized group, but we manage to get some things done for the community and the school." The group, she said, draws its fluid membership from all sorts of people in the community, calling upon individuals as their experience and persuasive skills are needed. The group's inner circle meets regularly on Sunday afternoons to discuss issues, problems, strategies, and long-range plans for the community.

15 The Guidance Chairwoman said the community group's members are all just good friends with common interests. Among the most active, she said, are the local state legislator, a school board member who is also a member of an important state school commission, and the district's city councilman. It is the state legislator, however, who really moves the group. The Chairwoman warmly recalled that the legislator had also grown up in Smoke City and had been her college sorority sister. Through many years of grassroots experience, the legislator had risen to prominence in the community; her years of service had created a woman who understands the art of compromise and negotiation, the Chairwoman said, and the community wouldn't be where it is today without the legislator's help. "She began teaching at the old Smoke City High, and was the PTA President there," the Chairwoman recalled, "But she wasn't afraid to look back. She's the chairperson of the Teacher Corps project's Executive Council and a member of our non-profit community corporation, which controls funds and projects as they come into the community. If we're the school board's conscience, I guess she's ours."

16 As she escorted the Interns around the school, the Chairwoman told them of the community's struggle for the school site. For more than twenty years, she said, the community had had no adequate school facility or education program. Out of that need, the community group had emerged and led the struggle with the university for the school site. Before the community had initiated the school planning process, she said, the official city planners had had no plans to build a new school in Smoke City. But the community group organized some Smoke City residents and brought in a team of con-

sultants for a two-week planning session; that planning process and the subsequent mobilization of community members had made the new high school a reality. Later, the community group had helped to organize and lead the process of determining the new school's design and program. The directions which were charted in that process have also greatly influenced much of the community's new housing, the overall revitalization of Smoke City, and the nature of its relationship with the university. That in turn has led to a sense of accomplishment and self-determination in the community.

"It wasn't long before we were really getting it together," the Chairwoman continued, "Other leaders started to stand up, and we got stronger. We started a voter registration drive, and have gotten our own candidates elected. We've been able to find out who the community's resources are, and we've been using them. The community now has the new high school," she said, and went on to point out other achievements: new and renovated housing, a large bank loan for a medical services center, and some control over outside encroachments on the community. 17

The community is also effective with the school district's central office. The teachers, a dedicated group, are selected and approved by the community through the group the Chairwoman described. The group, whose membership is somewhat fluid, clearly—and often—makes its wishes known to the district headquarters. When the school was first opened a few years ago, its initial administrators and faculty were screened through the community group and recommendations were made to the central school board, which conducted the official aspects of staff hiring. 18

All new staff members are also selected through that process. As a part of the community group—although not one of its key members—the school principal makes the Sunday afternoon group aware of new teachers who become available for positions at the high school. The group listens to her personal choices and then makes recommendations for individuals who should be hired. The group usually supports the principal's preferences, but has been known to exercise its prerogative to overrule the principal. Once the choices have been made, the principal notifies the school district of the preferences for new teachers, and they are assigned to the school. Since the Smoke City Area Superintendent is also a member of the Sunday group, there are seldom problems in approving the group's choices. 19

During their tour of the school, the Chairwoman introduced the Interns to a white man whom she laughingly called her "anemic soul 20

brother." Lucy, the only white Intern, had been wondering how she would fit into the Smoke City environment. She was reassured, but still a little nervous. In her introduction, the Chairwoman told the Interns that this man, the Chairman of the Graphic Arts Department, was a teacher to watch, one of the best at Smoke City High. "Everybody knows him," she said. "His department prints and distributes reams of information to the community—his publications are a real link between the school and Smoke City. He's only been around four or five years, but it seems like he's always been here."

21 The Interns immediately realized that the Graphic Arts Chairman fits in well at the school. His educational background overlaps with the school's focus on business careers, since he is a former business student and keypunch operator who became involved with the graphic arts through his interest in high-speed computer printing. Although school was closed, the man was in the school's print shop, preparing some leaflets describing community programs to be conducted during the summer. At one point in the conversation, he said he had only been around Smoke City for a few years, but he hoped to die right there, with his printer's apron on. He reiterated the principal's beliefs in the student-centered environment, and the Interns were impressed. It was clear that he was working overtime without pay, and had somehow cajoled two students to help. They were friendly with the teacher, but carefully followed his directions and paid close attention to their work.

22 The teacher was especially enthusiastic about the principal's way of relating to students. Her door was always open to students, he said, and he believed students with problems or concerns should feel free to "go straight to the top." He jokingly added that some teachers found it harder to see the principal than their students did—and said he didn't think that was a bad idea.

23 The Interns were also given a tour of the community during their first visit to Smoke City. That tour was guided by the Teacher Corps Community Coordinator, who is also a long-time resident of Smoke City and a member of the Sunday afternoon group. While pointing out various community service agencies and facilities, she told the Interns what it would take to succeed in the project: lots of watching; real dedication to the school and community; even more dedication to the community's future—its students; lots of hard work; and not much talk—especially during the first year.

24 She also told the Interns about the previous Teacher Corps project in Smoke City, which had just been completed. The project, she said, had been highly successful, and two of the four Interns were

now on the Smoke City faculty. So, she said, the school and community were familiar with the Teacher Corps. That should make it easier on the Interns—but could also cause some problems, since they would be expected to be as successful as the last group. The Black Interns felt confident that they understood the community, although they were unsure just what was expected of them. Lucy was just plain unsure.

After their first visit to the school, the Interns spent three weeks 25
at the Corpsmember Training Institute, had a brief vacation, and then reported for the opening of school. It was hectic; they seemed to be meeting everyone at once, and there were just too many faces and names to keep straight—and they never seemed to match. Gradually, though, the Interns began to see some patterns. During their first visit they had met some key people—the principal, the Guidance Chairwoman, and the Graphic Arts Chairman—but it turned out that there is another visible group in the school, a group of Black male teachers. That group frequently makes its perceptions known to others, but is not always successful in having its opinions accepted. One member of this group is the basketball coach, a Smoke City alumnus, whose teams consistently win city and state championships. The Chairman of the Music Department also belongs to that group, as does a math teacher, who is the school's only Ph.D. and a graduate of Smoke City. Finally, the group includes the Teacher Corps Project Director. The director is based at the school, and frequently represents this group's views to the principal and others who most often affect school and community decisions. The part that the director plays in the school and community is accepted by the faculty and administration, since he formerly taught at Smoke City and was the director of the previous Teacher Corps project.

Like the director, the Interns soon learned, some of the project's 26
other staff members had graduated from the old Smoke City High School and had been on the previous project's staff. For example, the Team Leader had taught in both the old and the new Smoke City high schools. During their initial observations of the school faculty, the Interns determined that many of the 90 faculty members had graduated from Smoke City High. They also had the opportunity to meet other graduates who returned for visits from time to time. Several of the 30 administrators, aides, custodians, and clerical workers, it turned out, had also lived in Smoke City for much of their lives.

As Lucy had expected, it took some time for her to fit into Smoke 27
City. As the three Black Interns had not expected, it took some time for *them* to fit into Smoke City, too. They were all a little surprised at

what they finally decided was resentment from some faculty members, but its cause slowly became clear: As the teachers saw it, after a couple of years of play-teaching and fooling around in the community, the Interns would have Masters' degrees and a hot line on just about any teaching job they wanted. The teachers, meanwhile, would train the Interns and often put in extra hours for their own in-service component. The teachers who already had Masters' degrees remembered the long hours of sitting in class to get their degrees and thought the Interns might be getting a free ride. Meanwhile, their own credit for the in-service component wasn't a very big start on a doctorate. The teachers who didn't have Masters' degrees weren't very pleased with the arrangement either. Since they had to carry full teaching loads, the teachers would not have time in two years to get the degree; by the end of the project, the Interns, who were just now beginning, would be fully credentialed and have the Masters'. In short, the Interns had it made.

28 The Interns didn't agree. How could they? They were taking university courses, observing in the school, helping teachers with all kinds of tasks, participating in the in-service component, and working in the community. The community work alone was mind-boggling. The Community Coordinator had found one family for each Intern and assigned that Intern to spend as much time as possible with the family. It was a helpful way to learn about the community's values, problems, lifestyles, and joys—but it took time. And, speaking of families, the Interns felt it was a full-time job just to break into the school. Now, *that* was a family; everybody had known each other so long, had worked together so long, had such a unified approach to education—it just wasn't easy to start as anything but an outsider.

29 Every once in a while, though, an Intern found a crack in the wall, and made a friend. Most of those friends were "family" members, but occasionally a teacher mumbled something about "the Czar in the front office." In subsequent conversations, it became clear that those who were discontented did not doubt the principal's good intentions: she clearly knew what it was like to grow up in Smoke City; she clearly wanted what was best for the community and its students; she clearly wanted an effective school program. In passing, though, someone suggested that making it at the high school might not be enough to satisfy the principal. "She might be looking ahead," that teacher said, "But who knows?"

30 Another teacher had responded, "I know who knows."

31 "Yes, but you'll never find out what you-know-who knows," the

and the Smoke City students were very excited.

36 For Mrs. Sipi, it was just another day—until three o'clock, when she, too, would go to the game proudly wearing a big Smoke City button. In the meantime, however, she intended to see that her students learned some American history. As her last class filed into the classroom that day, Mrs. Sipi was busy at her desk, making final preparations for her lesson. Although it was not yet time for the class to begin, Mrs. Sipi was annoyed at the high noise level in the room, and looked up to slowly survey her class. The students who noticed Mrs. Sipi's look hushed their voices but continued speaking in whispers; others kept talking loudly and playfully. Moments later, Mrs. Sipi stood and moved to the center of the room, where she always took attendance. Although the class was quiet during the attendance, Mrs. Sipi noticed a great deal of squirming among her students and resolved to settle the class down quickly and firmly. A spot quiz would do the job, she decided.

37 Finishing the role call, Mrs. Sipi evenly said, "Please take out a clean sheet of paper." Knowing that that instruction was a preamble to a quiz, several students groaned aloud. Others exchanged sideways looks of agony. The students slowly drew paper from notebooks and pens from pockets and purses.

38 "Question One," Mrs. Sipi said, even as several students were still getting ready.

39 "Wait!" cried Eldridge, "I'm not ready."

40 "You'd be ready if you spoke out of turn less and paid attention more," Mrs. Sipi replied, continuing, "Question One: Name three Civil War generals from the North and three from the South. Next to each name, indicate which side the general fought on." She paused for a minute or two, tapping her foot silently. "Question Two," she began again.

41 "Not so fast! Slow down," Eldridge again said anxiously.

42 "Question Two."

43 Mrs. Sipi, I'm not ready. Can't I have another second?"

44 "Eldridge, you're the only one having problems. The rest of the class is doing fine. You've talked out of turn three times today. For each time, I'm going to take five points from your final quiz score. Now, do you want to say any more?" Eldridge was silent. "Does anyone else need more time?" The class was silent.

45 "Question Two: Describe the role of Black soldiers in the Civil War. Use between five and ten sentences to answer this question."

46 The class was busily at work, many of them finishing up their answers to the first question during the time allotted for Question

first teacher responded.

That conversation had occurred in the auxiliary faculty lounge, 32
the one that was sometimes referred to as "The Den of Iniquity." It was there that four or five teachers often gathered to relax and socialize—and occasionally to complain. One of the group had once written a parody of the Smoke City Alma Mater which began:

> We are dedicated to our Smoke City Czar, 33
> For with a faculty like us, she'll go far.
> She talks to teachers now and again,
> But only the students know where or when.
> She's been known to censor,
> But the parents defend her,
> So here we are, on we plod,
> Spoiling the child by sparing the rod . . .

While the author was personally opposed to corporal punish- 34
ment, he explained his parody as "a bit of moral outrage." "Hell," he said, "I'd like to have something to say about what goes on here, too. When I was a student it was the teachers who had some say, not the kids." It turned out that the teacher had recently had a problem. While he had never really bought the student-centered environment, he had made all possible efforts to avoid referring discipline or other problems to the principal or her three assistants. He had tried to build relationships of mutual respect with his students, and had given them the benefit of the doubt in most disputes. But he had made the mistake of requiring his students to read *Manchild in the Promised Land*, a rather worldly book about life in the inner city. A parent had complained to the principal, saying that a book about the negative side of inner-city life did not seem to fit in with the school's goal of creating positive self-images in its students. The principal agreed that the book was not appropriate, and reprimanded the teacher; the book was dropped.

The majority of the Smoke City teachers, however, enjoy mutual 35
support with their principal. The faculty and administration generally agree about how the school should be managed. Among the faculty members, Mrs. Sipi is especially known as a strict teacher who allows no nonsense. Her students have learned—the hard way—that noise and other "acting up" are not tolerated in Mrs. Sipi's American history class. One time Mrs. Sipi was especially firm was last winter, on the day of the city's semi-final basketball championship game, which the Smoke City team expected to win. The game was to be played shortly after the close of school that day,

Two. Several students were writing furiously; others were working steadily and confidently. As the students wrote their answers, Mrs. Sipi walked around the room, monitoring the class. Eldridge, meanwhile, had crumpled his paper and left it is a ball in the center of his desk. When Mrs. Sipi got to his desk she said, "What's this, Eldridge? Aren't you taking this quiz?"

"No. What's the point?" 47

"Eldridge." 48

"What?" 49

"Look at me, Eldridge." 50

Eldridge looked up as the teacher continued, "I haven't given you a 'zero' on the quiz *yet*. You could still get an '85' if you tried. It's your own fault you lost points in the beginning. I have eight more questions. Now, take out a fresh sheet of paper. You can start with Question Three." Eldridge didn't move. 51

"Eldridge." 52

"What?" 53

Are you refusing to take this quiz?" 54

"I couldn't pass it anyway. You don't give us enough time." 55

"The others have plenty of time," she said, looking around. The other students were finishing up their answers while Mrs. Sipi and Eldridge talked. 56

"Eldridge, if you don't take the rest of the quiz, you and I'll have to have a little talk after school," Mrs. Sipi said. After a brief pause, she added, "*Today*." Eldridge looked up at the teacher, his eyebrows raised and his jaw set. 57

"I don't want to miss the game any more than you do, Edridge, but I won't have you defy me. Now either take the test, or plan to stay after school." 58

Eldridge knew he was in a spot, but he wasn't prepared to give in. He continued to sit, looking straight ahead. 59

"All right, Eldridge, it looks like the two of us will miss the first half of the game." Mrs. Sipi turned to the class and continued with the quiz. Throughout the rest of the quiz, Eldridge sat stone still, staring straight ahead. He knew there was no way to avoid staying after school with Mrs. Sipi. If he ducked out and went to the game, she'd come right up into the bleachers and get him. And then he'd be in even more trouble; she'd want a conference with his parents. They might even transfer him to another school. That was the last thing he wanted. 60

As Mrs. Sipi got to the fourth question, Eldridge almost took out a sheet of paper to try and answer the question. "But what's the use," 61

he thought, "I've already failed the test and she won't let me go to the game, anyway. What a dumb thing, to try to mess with Mrs. Sipi." He was too mad to take the quiz, and there was no way he'd be able to snow Mrs. Sipi so she'd let him get to the first half of the game. He guessed he was lucky he'd only miss the first half. When the quiz was over, Eldridge straightened up in his seat, determined to cooperate and stay out of trouble for the rest of the period. He held the unlikely hope that Mrs. Sipi might let him go early. Even if she didn't, he wanted to make sure he saw the last half of the game.

62 The thought of being transferred out of Smoke City High was particularly frightening to Eldridge. Like his fellow students, Eldridge likes the school. They know the principal and most of the teachers are on their side, and are willing to give up a few things to make the school the best in the city. A sideways look from the principal is usually enough to silence a rowdy student or to lower an inappropriate hemline. There is no strict dress code at Smoke City High, but students understand they are to dress appropriately for school. Occasionally a student is sent home to change into more appropriate clothing, but such problems are minimal. Last year, there was a small epidemic of marijuana smoking in the students' restrooms and in secluded spots in the plaza. The principal immediately had the students involved transferred to other schools and let it be known that such conduct was not in the best interests of the students, the school, or the community. Since Smoke City students are highly aware that theirs is a special school, and since they know they are expected to behave as special students, any further talk of "grass" was associated with mowing the lawn on Saturday morning.

63 The students also behave well in their classrooms. The teachers are aware that they must serve as positive role models for their students, and are extremely well organized. Since the school is an open-space structure, noise levels must be kept to a minimum; although no serious constraints are put on student talking and conversation, the building is generally quiet, despite its lack of walls. A great deal of progress has been made during the last year in establishing appropriate noise levels, and the school's carpeting also helps to absorb talk and laughter.

64 Another factor in the school's effectiveness is its department chairpersons, who serve a very active role in classroom management. Generally, these individuals teach only one or two classes; the remainder of their time is devoted to talking and working with students and teachers and solving whatever problems arise. There are frequent departmental meetings, and the department heads often

confer with their staffs on subject matter concerns.

During the first phase of the project, the Interns spent much of 65
their time learning about such features of the school—but they concentrated on observing teachers and students in the classroom. Jonah, one of the Interns, was having a whale of a time. He had been a college basketball player, and spent many afternoons in the school gym playing three-on-three basketball games with the students. He had also been asked to play on the faculty team during the winter intramural league at Smoke City High. In the classroom, he was very interested in watching students and teachers interact, and got many good ideas. One thing disturbed him, though; there was a distinct group of math students who were almost totally apathetic. They weren't disruptive or noisy, but they weren't involved, either. They turned in their homework and other assignments on time, and their work was acceptable, but they seldom volunteered answers in class and often didn't seem to be paying attention.

One day after class, Jonah asked the teacher about the group. She 66
agreed that they were not awfully enthusiastic, but said they were among her most cooperative students. "Just compare them with that bunch on the left side of the room," she said. "They don't ever cooperate if they can help it. The other kids seem to like them, but I frankly can't imagine why. Roger, Mary, and Joseph are the ringleaders—they're the hard core. If they would just do their work once in a while, so would the others."

Jonah replied, "Well, I have to admit I kinda like them, too. I play 67
basketball sometimes after school with Roger and Joseph, and they seem okay—though I agree that they're the leaders, and they don't always lead in the right direction. Would you mind if I asked them about it sometime in the gym?"

"Oh, I don't guess I'd mind. I've tried a time or two myself, and 68
haven't gotten very far. After all, I'm the enemy—I'm the one who gives the grades. You're welcome to try, though. Who knows, maybe they'll talk to you."

One afternoon the next week Jonah happened to be on the same 69
team as Roger and Joseph. While they were waiting for their turn to play, Jonah and the two students were bragging—selling wolf tickets—among themselves.

"Man, when we get out there, we're gonna show those dudes 70
how to play this game," Roger was saying.

Jonah smiled, "That's right. Just keep that old ball coming to me, 71
and we got it made."

"You?" Joseph asked, "You? Who's the shooter?" 72

73 "Well, it sure isn't you."

74 Jonah noticed Billy standing in the gym door, watching the game. He waved for Billy to come sit down, but the student quickly disappeared. Having noticed Jonah's wave, Joseph said, "We don't need him. We already got our three for the game."

75 "I know," said Jonah, "but I thought he might want to come sit with us, just so he could laugh at you when you get out there."

76 "Aw, he doesn't even know what a basketball is. He ain't nothin'."

77 "Hey, what is it with you guys?" Jonah asked. "I never saw Billy do anything to you."

78 Joseph shrugged and watched the game.

79 Jonah turned to Roger, opening his mouth to speak, but the game ended just then, and it was time to play.

80 A few days later, Jonah ran into Joseph and Roger after school in the plaza. They were sitting with Mary and a group of other students. Jonah approached the three, who greeted him with friendly "Hi's."

81 "Hey, Mary, how come you hang around with these guys? I bet you never saw them play basketball—what losers!" Jonah pretended to take a quick jump shot. "Now, there's class," he said as he hit the ground.

82 Mary giggled while Joseph and Roger mockingly criticized Jonah's form. The group turned to small talk, and after a while Jonah said, "Say, you know I'm in Smoke City to learn. Maybe you can help me."

83 Roger shrugged. Joseph looked up quizzically. Mary asked, "How?"

84 "Well, it's like this. Marie, Billy, Cynthia, and Lynn seem to like the three of you. But you never talk to them. I was watching the other day in math, and when Cynthia asked you for a piece of gum, Mary, you didn't even answer. I never saw her do anything to you; she always seems to agree with you when you say something. But I think you've got her scared or something. Another time, Roger, I saw Billy start to answer a question, but then he looked over at you and put his hand back down. What's going on?"

85 "Aw, they're just her pets is all," answered Mary.

86 But Mrs. Griffith doesn't give them any special attention," Jonah answered. "She calls on you more than them, anyway."

87 "Yeah, just so she can catch us!" Mary replied, "She's always trying to embarrass us in front of our friends."

88 "But what about the other three?" Jonah asked, "I think they're afraid you won't like them if they answer too many question. And if

you don't like them, no one else will, either. You know that."

"So?" 89

"So, they could do better in class if you helped them out a little." 90

"How?" 91

"How?" Jonah replied, "By giving them a little slack. Don't be so hard on them. They want to make it too, you know." 92

The conversation rambled on a bit after that, and the students left for home as the evening chill set in. Jonah went back into the school to pick up his books and papers, wondering if he had had any impact on Roger, Mary, and Joseph. He knew he had learned something: he had some questions that he wanted to get to the bottom of. First, he decided, he had to find out just what it was that held Roger, Joseph, and Mary together—and why they shut out the others. He also wondered who was the leader of the ringleaders; he had a hunch it was Roger. He resolved to ask Mrs. Griffith about how the two groups had emerged, when the division had first become noticeable, and how their behavior had changed over the course of the year. It had been a big job just to find out what questions to ask, but now he'd start asking. 93

Meanwhile, since the Interns had been familiarized with concepts of multi-cultural education at the CMTI, they were curious as to how those concepts might be implemented in a school like Smoke City High. Both the school and Teacher Corps project's staffs have been interested in multi-cultural education, but, because the school is virtually all Black, the current emphasis has been on enhancing the Black experience. Other cultures have not been dealt with in the school's multi-cultural program, since those responsible for the program feel that it is of most urgency that Smoke City students first gain a clear image and appreciation of their own culture before moving on to other cultural, racial, and ethnic groups. They do, of course, have some exposure to such groups through the faculty. 94

During the course of the first year, the Interns encountered a difficult problem. Several incidents occurred during the initial stages of the project which seemed to reveal racist feelings on the part of college personnel who were peripherally involved with the project as instructors and consultants. As these perceptions arose, frictions emerged, and criticism was directed at the college. In turn, there was a threat from the college to withdraw the project from Smoke City. Soon, the project's Executive Council was involved, and the community's political machinery cranked into gear. After several meetings and individual conversations, it was agreed that the project would stay in Smoke City, but that the offending parties would no 95

longer be involved in the project, the school, or the community.

98 Throughout these activities and events, the Interns have been working on building a strong team which is worthy of the school's and community's acceptance. It has not been easy. Sometimes it seems everyone expects something different—the Project Director has expectations for the Interns to meet overall project objectives; the Program Development Specialist is concerned with the Interns' performance in university courses; the Team Leader wants the Interns to make it in the school; the In-Service Coordinator expects the Interns to perform as well as experienced teachers in the school training component; the Community Coordinator expects results; and the principal expects everyone in the school to do their best. But the year has been a good experience; the Interns have begun to gain some acceptance, they have learned a lot, and they have fulfilled some of their own goals. They are looking forward to next year's teaching experience, knowing they are ready—finally—to begin.

APPENDIX A

ONE-SENTENCE DESCRIPTIONS OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONCEPTS*

Influence is the capacity to have an impact on the course of events in an organization or on the behavior of a group or a person.

Power is the capacity to require specified behavior.

Authority is the right to direct the behavior of others, and to do so on the basis of position.

Motivation is readiness to behave in ways which individuals perceive as likely to satisfy their own needs.

Communication is the process by which information is shared.

Conflict is the presence of discordance within, between, or among individuals, groups, and/or organizations.

Decision-Making is the process of making judgments and choices.

Norms are standards that govern the behavior of individuals in particular settings.

Role Set is a constellation of relationships which an individual has by virtue of occupying a particular position in an organization.

Organizational Structure is the pattern of relationships among roles or positions in an organization.

Formal Structure is the planned pattern of relationships based upon the mission and technical requirements of the organization.

Informal Structure is the emergent patterns of relationships that are

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*These descriptions were developed for the 1977 CMTI by Alexander Feldvebel, Roger Pankratz, and James Tanner.

not called for by the mission or technical requirements of the organization.

Slippage is that distortion which occurs as policy and/or information are transmitted within the organizational structure.

APPENDIX B

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